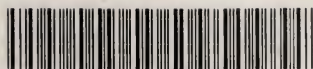


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—OF THE—

BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society is glad herewith to present to its members, and to the general public also, its fifth successive number of printed papers. This, with the four preceding numbers still remaining unbound, as well as copies of the bound volumes comprising those four, are on sale with the treasurer, H. H. Ballard, at the Athenæum in Pittsfield. The Society has no paid officials, and no corporate expenses whatever; all the proceeds of the sale of the separate numbers and of the bound volumes are scrupulously applied to the needful costs of further printing and binding. Any members or other persons desirous of purchasing at one time several of either numbers or volumes will be supplied at lessened rates. All our printing is done directly from types, and not from stereotyped plates; the volumes, consequently, can not be duplicated, and they are certain to become in the future both scarce and costly.

The present pamphlet holds six papers:—(1) "Jonathan Edwards," by John Bascom; (2) "Glass-making in Berkshire and Elsewhere," by W. G. Harding; (3) "Indian Grants in Stockbridge," by E. W. B. Canning*; (4) "Arnold at Quebec," by William E. Collins*; (5) "Sandisfield past and present," by A. W. Field; and (6) "New York at Bennington Battle," by Henry D. Hall.

The readers of these papers will of course pass their own judgments upon the merits of each of them; and those who listened to the public reading of the first one, may certainly be pardoned if they express the view, that since Jonathan Edwards left Stockbridge in 1757, no man has appeared in New England better qualified in every way to estimate and place him, both as a philosopher and theologian, than the author of this paper.

A. L. P.

February 27th, 1894.

*Deceased.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

BY JOHN BASCOM.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Since we are bidden to covet earnestly the best gifts, it can hardly require an apology that, in presenting the memorable persons associated with Berkshire,—the tenderness of its women and the strength of its men responding to the beauty of its valley and the grandeur of its mountains—we should lay some what eager hold on President Jonathan Edwards as a lawful prize in our historic venture; yet, that we may seem to have won, and not to have stolen, our best gift, we will briefly justify our appropriation.

Jonathan Edwards was born in 1703, at Windsor, Connecticut. He was graduated, while yet sixteen, at Yale College. He spent two additional years at Yale, in preparation for the ministry. He preached eight months in New York City. In the fall of twenty-four, he returned to Yale as tutor, where he remained two years. In 1726, he was invited to Northampton as colleague of Solomon Stoddard, his maternal grandfather. Here he remained a little more than twenty-three years, the longest period in his life of continuous labor. His ministry at Northampton closed with a very bitter conflict, and President Edwards retired to Stockbridge, in 1751. Here he spent six quiet and productive years. He was invited, in the fall of fifty-seven, to the presidency of Princeton College. He died at Princeton early in the following year, before the removal of his family.

One is most identified with the community in which he does his work, in which the ties of life are woven and tightly drawn under the strain of events. President Edwards would seem, therefore, primarily to belong to Northampton, where the greater share of his labor was performed. Most unfortunately, however, as a result of that sudden contagion of sin to which good men and weighty spiritual events are sometimes exposed,

this tenderest, and hitherto highly prosperous, relationship was painfully broken up, and President Edwards, in the maturity of his powers, was compelled to seek at Stockbridge that spiritual rest and unrestrained freedom of thought which were denied him at Northampton.

If, therefore, the spirit is native to the land which it weds, and which weds it in turn, to the land where God's hand shelters it from the strife of tongues, then Northampton must waive its otherwise fitting claims in favor of the Hills of Berkshire, among which this Elijah of his day was so long hidden. The descendants of President Edwards felt and indicated this sentiment in holding their reunion at Stockbridge, rather than at Northampton. However we choose to settle the less or greater rights of the two communities, it is plain that Berkshire is not wrong in bringing a full measure of honor to one who loved and honored it.

President Edwards, taking so early a part in our local history, good in his greatness and great in his goodness, invites our patriotic and reverent regard. Let us restore him to our thought as a person, a preacher and a philosopher. We cannot understand the man without understanding the period and the society to which he belonged. Though our social and spiritual life flows directly, with but a brief interval, from that of our Puritanic ancestors, it has undergone great changes. The stream has left the rugged defiles, and the mountain cañon. No longer clamoring among the rocks, or darkened by their shadow, it spreads itself lazily out in the wide, fertile, sunny valley. There is no such sternness in our creeds, nor stringency in our lives, as belonged to our fathers. We can now take any two points in the chart of religious faith, and find our way easily from one to the other by insensible gradations, meeting, in the transit, good citizens, most of whom are going to heaven, and none of whom are predestined, in our thoughts of them, to eternal damnation. Our clergy go to an agnostic, like John Fiske, to catch a word of encouragement concerning the being of God and a future life; or to John Morley, or to John Stuart Mill, for suggestions in philanthropy and the progress of the race. Nor do they make this pilgrimage in vain. Yet our

stalwart fathers, who knew at sight the works of the devil and abhorred them all, would have thought a faith strangely puerile, and puny, and pinking, that found satisfaction in sitting at the feet of men who believe neither in natural nor revealed religion, and have not a thus saith the Lord, for any proposition whatever. Belief with us is a great deal wider, more changeable, more consolatory, and also far more vacillating, than with the sturdy Puritans. The oaken centre of character was with them dry and hard, with us it is sappy and succulent. Firmness of belief by no means indicates with certainty clearness of thought. One who is ready to slip on the precipitous face of a rock, clings to the feeble shrub near by, as if it were a rod of iron; he who stands securely, hardly lays his hand on the supporting rail. There is with us more belief, more ease of belief, more charity in belief, than hitherto; and he who should walk about our streets bristling with the five points of Calvinism, would be as much an anachronism as a knight in armor, striking at our tailors or thrusting aside our merchants. The soldiers of religious dogma or of the divine right of kings, the champions of sharp logic or of a sharp sword, have alike come under the kind hearted and complacent contempt which falls to a Don Quixote, in search of a world that exists no longer, save in his own fancy.

President Edwards belonged to the later portion of the intense period of Puritanism, and to a community in which there was little to soften its stern features. Puritanism was nobly true to its own duty. Its office was to deepen and strengthen religious ideas that were becoming remote and inefficacious in men's minds. The contrasts of society were strong. Crude colors lay unblended on the canvass. The Puritan stood for reverence and godly fear, when transgression was profane, high-handed and cruel. He strove to overtop a towering record of sin in a wicked world. Hell-fire was not too strong a motive, when every man's cellar held one or more casks of cider brandy. The Puritanic conception of God was akin to this hard work of resistance and renovation. The Puritan sternly undertook a task which only sternness could accomplish. He was digging for rock, and found bed-rock in the justice of God. I

am very impatient of any disparagement of the forefathers. It seems to me the weak, supercilious smile of men at what is too large for their comprehension. The spiritual world is fashioned in a way not unlike that in which the surface of the earth is formed. Great mountain ranges are forced up in rugged grandeur, and then dissolved away and softened down and slowly spread as fruitful soil over the plains at their feet. Puritanism was a Titanic upheaval, and the results of many subsequent years have been due to its fertilizing drift. Its bold outlines of conduct, its abrupt walls of faith, looming up on the horizon of our history, stand for the fructifying ideas of law and liberty, potent among us from that time to this. I abhor an Americanism, overborne by the grosser portions and grosser beliefs of mankind, toned down by the irreverence of an unspiritualized German, or swashing about in his beer-swill, thinking itself thereby to have attained the largeness of liberty, and to have shed effectually the too restricted skin of its progenitors. Such Americans need to know that the only buoyant force that keeps us afloat in this swirl of sensuous things is the faith, born and bred of Puritanism. When the Puritan spirit shall cease to inherit the land it won for liberty, the land itself, exhausted of its first fertility, will be ready for the subsoiling of revolution. Yet there is very little in Puritanism that we would wish preserved intact, save the tone of it, the very strength of it, its invincible spirituality, its sense of a life capable of a development infinitely more beautiful than its attainments hitherto.

President Edwards, to whom we make roundabout haste to return, was a Puritan of the Puritans. He was born into, and was the only son of, the household of a Connecticut minister, serving—or served by—the same people nearly sixty years. His mother belonged to a like cogent line. A religious atmosphere, full of the ozone of Calvinism, was congenital and congenial to him. By his marriage with Sarah Pierrepont, a woman of a like supersensuous, exalted and mystical temper, he kindled, on his own hearthstone, the same sacramental fire, and fed it, year succeeding year, by a union of tender and intense experiences, like flames that wrap each other and lift each other

in vanishing tongues of light. Edwards laid down for the government of his youth sixty-seven resolutions, to be read weekly, and sternly applied in the correction of any frailties that should show themselves. The key-note is struck at once in the first of them. "Resolved, that *I will do whatever* I think to be most to God's glory and my own good, profit and pleasure, on THE WHOLE; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence; to do whatever I think to be my duty, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general, whatever difficulties I meet with, how many and how great soever." This earnest idea of life widened out in every direction, and the spiritual athlete girded himself for its unwearied pursuit. One stands in awe and reverence, and in sadness, too, before such a man; in awe and reverence at so pure and uncompromising a purpose, in sadness, that he did not see the promises and sunshine of life as clearly as he saw its dangers and overhanging clouds.

The religious life, as understood by Edwards, was one of supersensuous motives and penetrating perspective. "My wickedness," he says, "as I am in myself, has long appeared to me perfectly ineffable, swallowing up all thought and imagination. I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite, and multiplying infinite by infinite." This spiritual mania, of so transcendent an order, he consistently and constantly maintained in his every action. There is a dream which often returns to me. My feet slowly lift from the earth, and I acquire the smooth, wavy motion of a bird. It is easily managed in a vision, but when daylight returns, I have lost the knack of it. Thus it is with life as conceived by Edwards; it is a thing of transcendental experiences, once in it, the mind must not be allowed to wake out of it. Let us, if possible, understand this phase of religion. Even in its grotesque forms—and its forms ever tend to become grotesque—we should approach it awfully; as we would pick up an idol, now spurned, which men had kissed and bowed before for centuries, and lay it aside interestedly, as something which concerned the human soul, in its secrets,

secrets so momentous, yet so often unintelligible; so gross, yet so supersensuous.

While it is high time that the vigorous religious conception of life of which Edwards gave so marvelous and realistic a presentation should pass away forever, yet the world has most of all been blest by men who have been able to trample it under foot, in this relentless way, when it has risen as an obstacle to the invisible things of the spirit. If the images any of us make in clay seem lifeless and absurd, break them with a hammer, but forget not that a divine beauty has often been fashioned of this same material. Phases of inspiration greatly alter, but inspiration remains the one divine thing forever.

There was nothing harsh or unlovely in the character and address of President Edwards. He administered the terrible system he had espoused with the tenderness of unreserved sincerity. Possessed of a quiet and commanding presence, he spoke in a fearfully intelligible way of the facts as he conceived them. He gave his own version of the divine mind—one to which he had reconciled himself in fierce conflict—unwavering and unsparing presentation. His biographer, in the early American edition of his works, says that his sermons were not usually long. Things are relative in this world. The assertion can only mean for us, with our short sips of insipid flavors, that compared with his brethren in the ministry, he did not improve the abundant gifts that were in him at unusual length. His published sermons, in the edition referred to, average twenty-nine compact pages, and would require, in delivery, not less than an hour and a half. The first of them, *Justification by Faith*, might well have occupied five hours. The Puritans were a tedious people to everybody but themselves, and thus rare power is signally disclosed in the courageous way in which they bore up under their own abundant fervor. In looking over the thirty-five printed discourses, one is impressed with the severe and sombre class of subjects chosen. The light that rests on them is rarely sunshine; it is often as lurid as a conflagration in the night-time. These are some of the titles in the first volume: *The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners*; *The Future Punishment of the Wicked Unavoidable and*

Intolerable; The Eternity of Hell Torments; The Folly of Looking back in Fleeing out of Sodom; Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God. There is no milk-and-water Andover theology here. The last discourse, in the conception it gives of God, is one of the most intolerable that was ever uttered. Yet it was wrapped about with so simple, devout and pure feeling, that it may—such are the strange possibilities of the world—have done good. There is, however, in this assertion the same sort of riddle which there is in saying, The devil, on the whole, is a happy idea. The profound misapprehension of the discourse is indicated in its earlier words, “The observation I would now insist on is this, There is nothing which keeps wicked men at any moment out of hell but the mere pleasure of God. By the mere pleasure of God I mean his sovereign pleasure, his arbitrary will, restrained by no obligation, hindered by no manner of difficulty.”

The force of President Edwards was that of unwavering conviction; which men can never resist. Whether it rushes forward like the floods of a summer rain, or offers the stern, rock-like front of a glacier, all yield, all are swept before it, all are ground to powder beneath it. One could hardly sit under the closing words of the sermon last referred to, without submitting, in abject fear, or flying into terrific passion, or sinking into the insensibility of flesh too often seared with a hot iron. “If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing it would be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight it would be to see such a person! How might all the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him! But alas! Instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse, in hell? And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present, should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons, that now sit here in some seats of this meeting-house in health, and quiet and secure, should be there before to-morrow morning.” No violence of gesture, no resonance of voice, could add anything to words such as these, cold, clear, cruel, cutting their way like a knife

among trembling nerves, alive only to be lacerated. One grows faint even at the remote image. A sinner stripped of all the gracious God-given conditions of life, crouches under the divine wrath, as a frightened wretch in a corner of his own cellar while a pitiless cyclone sweeps his habitation as dust from over his head. God spare us the remorseless eloquence of President Edwards. It is like the *Inferno* of Dante, sublime in terror, but without a touch of the beauty of love.

It has been thought strange that a man of so much tenderness as belonged to President Edwards should have returned so often and so vigorously to the enforcement of the most repulsive beliefs of his creed. The answer is simple. The mind of Edwards was of that bold, earnest, truthful character, that attaches the most importance to the most difficult questions which offer themselves to it. His thoughts pushed on to the reduction of such doctrines, as a conqueror plants his siege trains around the strongest fortresses. The sermons of Edwards express the pertinacity of his own powers in pursuing difficulties. The less his mind was at rest under the divine character, the more he struggled with the conception and enforced his hard conclusion concerning it. Moreover, he felt that the boldest use of truth is the most merciful use. The times, also, were belligerent. He had an horror of Armenianism, and he wished to knock out the great teeth of the ugly dragon with rough stones.

Two practical questions of wide-reaching interest came before President Edwards in his ministration at Northampton. The first of them was the excesses which accompanied the Great Awakening. This memorable religious movement, which spread all over New England, extended into the other colonies and passed the ocean into England and Scotland, commenced at Northampton under the preaching of Edwards. The general culture of President Edwards and his intellectual vigor would naturally have predisposed him against nervous outbreaks and physical prostrations, which lacked dignity, and often addressed themselves to fanatical sentiments and a debasing curiosity. President Edwards came forward in their defence by virtue of the force of a theological theory. Man is possessed by a devil,

and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that this evil spirit, in departing from him, may cast him down and rend him. Conversion is not a natural, but a supernatural, change; it may, therefore, be convulsive. We must not assign methods to the work of God's spirit.

The third sermon of the seventh volume is on this theme: *Men Naturally God's Enemies*. The tenet of an utterly depraved nature is a vital one in the theology which President Edwards represented, and it modifies everything in the mind's relation to truth. No normal and just processes suffice for redemption. There is no easy and wholesome transition into the Kingdom of Heaven. Not till man is shaken out of himself, and from himself, is he in any way a child of grace. It is useless, therefore, to expect him to endure the hand of God without some ruffling of the garments of the flesh, some dislocations of the bones. One cannot lie on the rack without wrenched joints. So intense a religious experience as that represented by President Edwards is abnormal, and was liable to repulsive, abnormal manifestations. Edwards was not at liberty to repudiate these direct fruits of his faith. The most he could do was to strive to restrain them. If God had not protected us against such fierce incentives by the fortunate apathy of our nature, we should oftener have found our faith a high-way to bedlam. Says President Edwards, "The body in its present weakness, is not fitted for the views and pleasures and employments of heaven. If God did discover but a little of what is seen by the saints and angels in heaven, our frail natures would sink under it." "We cannot determine that God shall never give any persons so much of a discovery of himself, not only as to weaken their bodies, but to take away their lives."

His view of the case is now so far from current feeling, that we need spend no time upon it. What we may well remember is, that the perplexity of President Edwards arose necessarily from his disjointed structure of the world, the hopeless gulf which lay, in his view, between man, the unfortunate occupant of the world, and the elect, the fortunate heirs of heaven. If one could only find himself at last within the golden gates, he could well afford to have been flung thither as from a catapult.

The beliefs which Edwards defended have stolen quietly away, like water from a pool by the roadside, and left only a little mud. This also will dry up in due time.

This same excitement gave rise to claims of special insight, and of a right to judge others, which soon became the source of much confusion and strife. Edwards was compelled to resist this arrogance of individual opinion, though it was only another incident of an irrational tendency.

The second question which came to President Edwards, and in reference to which he was more in the line of progress, was that involved in the conditions of church membership. In a Puritanic community, religious relations had a controlling influence. Social position and, in the early history of Massachusetts, political power, were associated with church membership.

Solomon Stoddard, to whose assistance Edwards had been called, had conceded that easy admission to the church, known as the half-way covenant. This membership did not imply any renovation of life. The custom had become somewhat general in other churches, and Edwards found it in full force when he commenced his work at Northampton. In the earlier part of his ministry, he expressed no hostility to it, but its evils became increasingly apparent to him. He was led to feel distinctly that the purity of the religious life could not be preserved without sharp discrimination between those obedient to the faith and those negligent of its duties, between the converted and the unconverted. The sternness of the doctrines he taught, and the great vigor of the motives he employed, made this discrimination all the more necessary. It was something monstrous that men should be in the tacit acceptance of such beliefs and pay little attention to them in their lives. This was to be in the daily use of the strongest spiritual tonics with no improvement in spiritual health. It was to have the diabolical constitution of a magician, who swallows swords and knives with no visible results.

President Edwards became convinced that the church, to be a spiritual power, must rest on a pure, spiritual basis, and be pledged, without reservation, to its own work. This difference of opinion between the pastor and the people was suddenly

deepened into division by the discovery of Edwards, that the young men and women of his congregation were in possession of unclean literature. He called for an investigation, and the church gave ready assent. When it became evident, however, that the evil extended widely, in influential households, the church suddenly dropped off from its disposition to inquire into it. Here was a startling illustration of the danger of lax membership. Even the decencies of life, like whitewash on a sepulchre, might flake off in the most unseemly way. Edwards became more earnest in his effort to enforce the opinion which had grown out of his wider experience, and the church, in a like degree, became impatient, irritable and resistful.

It is not strange that this unexpected difference of sentiment passed rapidly into a bitter and unassuageable quarrel. President Edwards was not an easy man to encounter. He was so calm, so just, so persistent in his methods, so full of inexhaustible reasons—one volume of his works is chiefly occupied with them on this topic—and of such invincibleness, he called his adversaries to a parley with such imperturbable patience, and such absolute assurance of success, that no man could reasonably contend with him till he had first become unreasonably angry. Passion and perversion were the only available means of warfare. The church refused to listen to his arguments, and would none of his counsels.

We may well believe that we have, in this violent contention, a natural expression of character. Edwards, with his unimpeachable goodness, his uniform severity of thought, his immaculate presence, must have been, in the progress of years, an incubus on any average community. When unexpected relief comes to boys under a rigid master, they astonish themselves at the extent to which they kick up their heels. The devil had been so snubbed, and kept under in so many ways, that there was a vicious swinge in his tail at this unanticipated deliverance. President Edwards was running counter to settled customs, strong tendencies and instinctive bias in the community; and, like all men who encounter entrenched transgression, in a determined way, on new ground, he was made to feel the immense inertia of sin. His blows of reasoning, like the strokes of a

hammer on a flinty rock, only gave occasion to sparks of passion and a painful recoil. The opportunity for conviction and persuasion passed at once and forever away. A ministry, incomparable in purity and in the vigor of its pleas for righteousness, broke up under the first severe concussion, and disclosed such depths of impiety and passion as to confirm one doctrine at least of the harsh Calvinistic creed, that of the total depravity of the human heart.

The real philosophy of this painful event is found in the impossibility of subjecting human life advantageously to the strain of stringent motives. There are normal methods of growth which cannot be exceeded. The incentives employed by Edwards were inhuman, as well as inhumane, in their intensity. A religious experience of this order will show strangely callous and inconsistent phases. It is not pervaded by proportionate, self-sustaining and harmonious impulses. It is liable, under new conditions, to drop in, like undermined soil. President Edwards retired to Stockbridge, experiencing the full severity of life's most severe lesson, the miscarriage of goodness in its devoted labor. This event brought his career, as a preacher, practically to an end. Henceforth he was incidentally a missionary and primarily a philosopher.

President Edwards owes his continuous influence not chiefly to his piety, simple and pervasive as it was, but to the very unusual vigor of his mind. His theology was the product of protracted and searching thought. We need not distinguish his theology from his philosophy. Theology is a part of philosophy. Theology is as theoretical as any branch whatever of inquiry. We do not say this in disparagement of it, but in simple recognition of the fact.

What was President Edwards' philosophy of the spiritual world, for to that world, from his childhood up, he chiefly directed his attention? He regarded his philosophy as Biblical; but the Bible, not less than other forms of presentation, waits on the mind which receives it for interpretation. Edwards, in common with his generation, attached excessive importance to the logical outline of belief. He laid down, as the first qualification of a good minister, "thoroughly sound principles in the

scheme of doctrine which he maintains." He had not come to see that the facts of a spiritual life must precede our theoretical rendering of them, that a sound life is the source of a sound rendering, rather than a sound rendering of a sound life.

The central conception in theology is the character of God. In this conception President Edwards was profoundly at fault. Relatively physical attributes triumphed over moral ones. The sense of power, magnitude of being, dimension of existence, overwhelmed every other consideration. There was an absorption of all interests, all rights, all felicities in God, closely allied to what we are wont to call selfishness. Only let God be happy, and created things are not of much moment. We are "inferior worms." God and the creatures of God are opposed to each other. What the one side wins the other loses. It was possible for Edwards to feel that God, moving in his radiant orbit of power, could forever pursue any person, who in any degree opposed him, not only without pity but with positive pleasure. The immense depths of being locked up in God were of the most exacting order. Nothing could resist his power. He moved forward relentlessly to bless or to crush his creatures.

President Edwards violated his own philosophy to make his conception of God more unbearable than it otherwise would have been. He spoke of the will of God as absolute and arbitrary. Yet under his own view of will, no will can be arbitrary. To be arbitrary is to set aside just motives in favor of personal impulses. Edwards regarded the motives which govern the will as always provided by the circumstances, and final in their effect. God, therefore, cannot be arbitrary. He must be controlled by the conditions of action. It was a superfluous touch of his own exacting imagination to make God, as he so constantly did, arbitrary in his handling of men. The infinite wisdom of God excludes arbitrary action under any view of liberty.

There is, in this attitude of Edwards, another striking example of that nemesis which overtakes any extreme opinion, compelling it, by virtue of its excess in one direction, to a kindred excess in the opposite direction. Edwards denied to man liberty—the primary gift of God, the true function of manhood

inherent in clear intelligence—as in itself an impossible conception. He then proceeded to refer liberty to God in the illegitimate form of arbitrariness, as if this truly spurious power were the crown of his glory.

It ought to be said, in reduction of the harsh impression which this word arbitrary now makes upon us, that ideas in the spiritual world, like objects in the physical world, are greatly altered in character by that on which they are projected. The divine will, when contrasted with high-handed wickedness among men, brings, simply as will, as an adequate ruling force, great relief to the devout mind, a sense of safety and of refuge. Such a mind clothes it with all the results of rightfulness. Power, as in periods of anarchy, takes genial emphasis.

When moral order is in a measure conceded, then wisdom, grace, the perfecting of that order, become our desire. Having enthroned will, we proceed to enthrone reason as the real root of will, the true source of beneficent authority. Having gotten the government, we pass on to its definition and limitation. Edwards was in search of adequate rule.

Edwards, in his system of morals, regards the essential nature of virtue to be “the love of being in general.” But as the bulk of being, beyond all comparison, is found in God, our virtue lies in being absorbed by him. His life is not passing into our lives, all lives are not meeting in the life of reason, but his thirsty spirit is drinking up other spirits that they may satisfy and gratify the depths of being in him.

This conception of God, so partial, so subversive of true moral quality, was arrived at by President Edwards in consequence of his notion of the nature of man. The character of God is the key of theology, and the endowments of man are the key to the character of God. President Edwards regarded man as destitute of grace and without liberty. His famous work on the will, assumes, at once, premises which involve his conclusions, and these he unfolds in his minutely analytic, exhaustive and exhausting method. Causation is accepted as a universal principle, and this principle is shown to preclude liberty. All other errors in President Edward’s doctrinal system centre here. Moral obligations remain, though the

power of obedience is wanting; sin and holiness thus become states rather than acts. The transfer from the one state to the other state can be accomplished by God only, and his election finds full sweep in it. A principle reason with Edwards for the assertion of the absolute force of motives was the apprehension that freedom in man would put limits upon the knowledge and power of God. God being thus absolute, all men, whether holy or unholy, drop at once into his hand, and are played by him as mere puppets. Separate from him they are totally hateful; united to him, they become the media of his pleasure. These conclusions are derived, one by one, in due order from the absence of liberty in man; yet the Kingdom of Heaven is within us, and not till we find it there can we find it anywhere. President Edwards built up his entire system unflinchingly on a total misapprehension of the nature of man; hence of the nature of virtue; hence of the nature of discipline of the world, and so of the nature and government of God.

This theology resulted in a constant conflict of conceptions which would not, and could not, be reconciled. Thus in the sermon entitled "The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners," he says, "It is consistent with wisdom that God should make himself his end; it is consistent with perfection that he should be governed by his own will." These assertions involve incongruous ideas. Wisdom implies the widest possible consideration of all interests, and goodness involves the full operation of these motives on the mind. Neither wisdom, therefore, nor goodness can bear, aside from the truth offered, the least touch of will. Will as will, is opposed to wisdom as wisdom.

Moral distinctions are confounded in this system beyond all hope of elucidation. We can respect the spiritual courage which led to this confusion. We cannot fail to recognise the confusion itself, and the loss, by means of it, of any coherent view of the world. The moral law is the supreme law of God in the soul of man and in the constitution of society. It, more than all other things, testifies to the being and nature of God. It gives us all our standards of goodness. There can be

to us no other standards. If the actions of God do not conform to the moral law, he is not good. If he is not good, he is not wise. If he is neither good nor wise, the significance of his being and the proof of his being disappear. The strong hold of faith is the moral government of the world. To wound morality is to pierce the soul of man in a vital part. It must languish till this wound is healed. It has been a long, hard struggle, not yet quite complete, to overcome the injury to spiritual life which issued from this misapprehension of Edwards, and of Calvinists generally, of the moral nature, and of our relation through it to God. The graces of a religious life were regarded by President Edwards as something wholly distinct in nature and origin from virtue, the perfecting of the human spirit under its own native laws of life. The attainments of virtue, aside from a supernatural grace, had in his view no merit whatever. Virtue and saving virtue are as distinct from each other as possible. The nature of man as it is, and the nature of man as it is to be, constituted for him the great contrast of the religious world.

This system gave rise to terrible conflicts in the mind of Edwards and of its devotees. The natural heart, that is the very heart of man, rejected the arbitrary government thus forced upon it. It was only by protracted and convulsive effort that the mind could be brought to accept it. The life of Edwards was full of this self-imposed struggle between what he regarded the natural heart and the sanctified heart. Occasionally, he rose into moods of ecstasy and marvellous elation as the result of the rebound of the soul from the impact of sin. Extreme followed extreme under the inevitable law of reaction.

This conflict carried with it, as it always must, a mystical element. The entire experience out of which it sprang was supersensuous and unearthly. It found no clue and no correction in the ordinary events of life. It strove after separation and diversity, not union and harmony. Both President Edwards and Mrs. Edwards attained, in a high degree, the rapturous sentiment which they regarded as the culmination of spirituality, and which accepted no law from personal, or from the general, welfare. Ecstasy was the aim, union with God in

exalted sensibility. This is mysticism. The soul ceases to seek development by the normal use of its powers, is lifted and whirled upward in circles of wrapt insight, is lost to itself and to the world in the love of God. The average man can only stand and look on in a bewildered way, as did the sons of the prophets when Elijah was caught up in a chariot of fire.

This theology of Edwards settles the relation of man to God on a basis of supernaturalism. The system is fundamentally and profoundly opposed to naturalism. The religious conception of the world and the scientific conception of it thus become completely antithetic. It is the secret and open struggle between the two, during the present century, that has been the great event of the spiritual world. It has been the supreme achievement of science, that is of the rational temper, to set aside this phase of supernaturalism, and place us on plain terms of obedience, under laws that embrace all things and knit all things together. The supernaturalism which remains to us is something wholly other than the supernaturalism of Edwards. It is the supernaturalism of a free human spirit, a thing contemptuously discarded by Edwards.

Under the Calvinistic idea, the natural world, waiting to be burned up, has nothing in common with the world of grace, waiting to be let down out of Heaven. In the sermon, *God Glorified by Man's Dependence*, Edwards says, "I propose to show, first, That there is an absolute and universal dependence of the redeemed on God for all their good; and, secondly, That God hereby is exalted and glorified in the work of redemption." This language is to be interpreted under the constant opposition between man and God which characterized the thought of Edwards. There is, therefore, a dualism in the world not simply of things unlike, but of things hostile. Hell stands the counterpoise of heaven, and the universe is permanent by virtue of the balance between the two. God and his saints take positive pleasure in the pains of the devil and his angels. The power of God is everywhere, but not the grace of God. The moral world is cleft in parts from top to bottom. Hatred is eternal and universal; it shows itself in Heaven as the loathing of the victor, in Hell as the loathing of the vanquished. This con-

ception of God and of immortality is horrible, and puts the merciful spirit, striving for faith, at once in a fierce effort to find its way back again to a sense of justice and wisdom and love, without which the world is nought to it.

Daily experience flatly contradicts this theory of Edwards. Saints are in no such way superior to others, sinners are in no such way debased below others, as this theology affirms. No thorough and impartial investigation discloses these supernatural gifts of converting grace. Edwards and others like him hid from themselves the perfectly normal character and very moderate degrees of the spiritual life by the mysticism and ecstacy which belonged to their own experience. They understood neither the changes in feeling nor those in action incident to conversion on a sound, sober, psychological basis. They were subject to illusions of faith, which distorted the relations of things. We are as yet only half-awakened from this nightmare which began, in St. Augustine, to distress the spirit of man. A just apprehension of the perfectly open spiritual facts of the world, as they offer themselves to our daily observation, would have been fatal to the theology of Edwards.

This theory of salvation greatly altered the methods and weakened the motives of spiritual growth. The fundamental transition was not a natural, but a supernatural, change, and all subsequent progress involved a most obscure and perplexed interplay of the human and the divine. The steady growth of the human with and into the divine, was an idea abhorrent to it. I well recollect, nurtured under a stern, Puritanic sentiment, how obscure, from the earliest childhood, the whole subject of religion seemed to me. I was bidden to do impossible things in unknown ways, and my hesitation, perplexity and disposition to make further inquiry were set down as so many additions to my guilt. The centre of all this confusion, the darkest spot in this darkness, was the election of God, his will put in the place of his wisdom. President Edwards was never able to apprehend that will with God is only the force of wisdom, and that love is the warmth that follows on with light in the footsteps of reason. We would hold by supernaturalism, but it is a supernaturalism by which the natural remains pliant

under the handling of the spirit, itself forever unfolding under its own laws of liberty. We would separate ourselves as widely from the hard naturalism, declared in the name of science, as from the hard unnaturalism, proclaimed in the name of theology. We would move and have our vital being where the two meet, the natural and the supernatural, and forever mingle in spiritual life. Growth under the dominant force of reason, flowing forth from God and flowing through the human spirit, is the controlling idea in the spiritual world.

It is not surprising that an earnest disciple of this stern faith, like President Edwards, should lay eager hold of the intense motives which the system offered, even though the system itself provided no rational method of use for them. Men were bound in chains of sin, waiting to be consigned to eternal woe. It was an act of kindness to unweld these chains in the very heat of divine wrath, by a jet of flame blown straight from the pit itself, if thereby the scorched and blackened sinner could be saved.

We turn again from this fearful logic of an insane speculation to the man himself, so much purer, stronger, more beneficent, more lovable, than we would think possible. How many measures of dry meal a little of the true leaven of divine love will enliven and make wholesome! President Edwards, in his personal character, was like a noble tree whose growth has been checked and distorted by adverse storms, but has yet pushed upward with irrepressible vigor into its own native sky. What was it with all his errors of faith, that made President Edwards a great spiritual force?

He laid hold, with wonderful firmness and constancy of conviction, of spiritual things, and made them the ruling considerations in life. He stood for the invisible. Any man who does this, in connection with high intellectual ability, will become a startling presence among men. His conception was not duly harmonized within itself, but it was vital. In it, as in Puritanic character, strength predominated over grace. But power, magnitude, majesty, have hardly found elsewhere such overshadowing energy as in the faith of President Edwards. As we are in danger of softening down Puritanic force into

the weakness of self-indulgence, so we are in danger of regarding the love of God as an easy tolerance of sin. Steel must be delicately tempered within itself. Hardness and softness must touch each other along the unshrinking edge of the glittering weapon. Firmness and love meet in the divine character in perfect integrity, redolent of life within itself, persuasive of life beyond itself. First steps and sturdy ones were taken by President Edwards and his compeers in giving a firm, unshaken centre to the spiritual universe, and in compelling us to feel its invincible energy. Once having steel in its own true temper, we can soften it down to the uses of life.

The awe and reverence which such a character inspires, while they should restrain us from unkind, should not withhold us from thorough, criticism. The reasoning of President Edwards was characterized by analytic subtilty, rather than by penetration and breadth. He separated himself too widely from the spiritual facts of the world to understand them well, or to discuss them wisely. Dogma, the fruit of astute and rigid logic, whether it offers itself as orthodoxy or as liberalism, is ever in danger of blinding perception and arresting the growth of the mind under the more delicate and personal disclosures of truth. The dogmatist will not walk with God in the familiar events of life, and wanders away into barren places. Sound doctrine is only a provisional view of the truth, a proximate rendering of it, open to all the corrections and enlargements of experience. When it takes the form and force of dogma, and becomes so firmly established in the mind that we settle the nature of the facts by it, and not it by the nature of the facts, it is henceforth a most serious obstruction to all true growth. Theory, in every department of knowledge, fulfills its function only by preserving a perfectly pliant form, submitting itself at once to every new revelation in the world of events, where God, as creator and guide, meets us most intimately and constantly. We must draw the doctrines of life from life itself. President Edwards brought to the interpretation of life scholastic ideas which distorted it in many obvious, and in many obscure, ways.

There is much pathos mingled with the joy inspired by such

a character as that of Edwards. We see him push upward, like a mountain explorer, with astonishing nerve and energy, but we greatly regret that he has chosen such needlessly rugged and precipitous paths. We wish that he had the joy and the peace of a grand life. Yet perhaps one of our most mistaken regrets is a regret of the labors, hardships and errors we have undergone; since these are the ways to patience, power and wisdom. Strength made perfect in weakness is the secret of the spiritual world.

Let us leave President Edwards where we took him up, in Stockbridge. His dismissal at Northampton left him, with his large family and narrow resources, in want. His friends in Scotland—and his works had won him many of them—contributed to the relief of his immediate necessities. Stockbridge, in 1781, when Edwards went to it, was an Indian village with a small number of settlers. He ministered to these Americans and acted as missionary to the Indians. Valuable as was the service which he thus rendered, it was not fitted to, nor commensurate with, his powers. He devoted his leisure, during these six years of seclusion, to works in philosophy. It was then that he wrote his treatises on *The Freedom of the Will*, *The Nature of True Virtue*, *The Doctrine of Original Sin*. The inner force and quality of the mind of President Edwards are especially disclosed in these works. He put the fortress of his faith by means of them in perfect repair, and made it, as he thought, impregnable. It was about its last burnishing before its final overthrow. While some place these compositions among the highest products of human thought, others think of them lightly, as strongholds long since dismantled in the progress of events. If we entertain the flexible notion of growth, as the true explanatory idea of human history, we shall not wholly share either the one opinion or the other. There is nothing absolute, nothing complete, in life. Each state is partial and gives way to one more perfect; each position transitional in reference to that which lies beyond. To those who come after us our errors will be as palpable, if not as glaring, as those of President Edwards. His defences were out-works, a border bulwark in the realm of faith. Unfortunately for his

reputation with us, he built in behalf of decaying ideas. Men were making ready to decamp from these cold, sterile uplands of justice, and plant their homes anew in the warm, fertile plains of God's favor and love. Edwards could not stay their movement, and his works stand monuments of futile labor on the very horizon of our vision. Events were wiser than he, and we now plume ourselves on this their wisdom, as if it were ours. How many faces are bright in this world with the light of sunset; turn toward the day not yet risen, and then see whose countenance is luminous. The goodness and fortitude of conservatism are sad, though often most real, presentations of strength in the history of the world. They may be likened to those great rocks which lie in the bed of a boisterous stream and prevent it from cutting too deep and too sudden a course for itself. Let the beliefs of Edwards perish with the age to which they belonged, let the character of Edwards remain with us forever, marking grandly one of the historic points in the spiritual progress of the world.

President Edwards' work among the Indians seems to have been in a fair degree successful. The church formed among them has had an unbroken history, and now embraces nearly the entire community, as established in Wisconsin. The seed sown in this virgin soil took a strong, rank hold. The seed and the soil, I fancy, had a certain savage predilection for each other.

At the reunion of the Edwards family, in 1870, at Stockbridge, the number of his descendants was estimated at twenty-five hundred, two hundred of whom were present. The same prolific force and sharp contradictions showed themselves among his physical progeny, as among his spiritual offspring. Aaron Burr, one of the most unusual, restive, and reckless characters in American history, was the grandson of President Edwards.

The evil and the good arise at the same centres and eliminate themselves in a perpetual and ever-changing strife, in which we are all partakers. We are called to contention, creation, workers with God in conceiving, as well as in achieving, the Kingdom of Heaven. Those who stand firm in their own

places, and withhold nothing from this service, as they conceive it, are the world's heroes, from whom we wish to withdraw no honor. It is not the work, but the workmen, that are saved. Work, therefore, is measured chiefly in fruits of character. So estimating the deeds of our fathers, we, their sons and daughters, bow reverently, gratefully at the feet of the Puritans, men glorified with the faith of Edwards; but having received our blessing, and accepted our dowery, we rise and go forth as they did, to win a new world all our own. We leave them, as we leave all things else, behind us. We commit ourselves to the future and to that spirit of power and revelation which abides in it.

GLASS MANUFACTURE IN
BERKSHIRE.

BY WILLIAM G. HARDING.

GLASS MANUFACTURE IN BERKSHIRE.

There is probably no other industry whose origin and development has been so enveloped in mystery as that of glass-making. It is to glass that we owe not only our knowledge of the distant planets and of the minute structure of all around us, but the inestimable advantage also of abundant light in our dwellings and workshops, the plenty of cheap, clean and elegant vessels for our domestic needs, and the frequent gratification of our taste for the beautiful.

For glass presents itself to our eyes on all sides, not only in windows, mirrors and vessels formed entirely of glass, but as enamel and glaze on the surfaces of metal and pottery. Dr. Johnson in one of his Rambler papers happily refers to the discovery of glass. "Who," he says, "when he first saw the sand and ashes by casual intenseness of heat melted into a metallic form, rugged with excrescences and clouded with impurities, would have imagined that in this shapeless lump, lay concealed so many conveniences of life as would in time constitute a great part of the happiness of the world? Yet by some such fortuitous liquefaction was mankind taught to procure a body at once in a high degree solid and transparent, which might admit the light of the sun, and exclude the violence of the wind, which might extend the sight of the philosopher to new ranges of existence, and charm him at one time with the unbounded extent of the material creation, and at another, with the endless subordination of the animal life, and, what is yet of more importance, might supply the decay of nature, and succor old age with subsidiary light. Thus was the first artificer of glass employed, though without his own knowledge or expectation. He was facilitating and prolonging the enjoyments of life, enlarging the avenues of science, and con-

ferring the highest and most lasting pleasures; he has enabled the student to contemplate nature and the beauty to behold herself." In all ages, whether as a simple colored bead or a cathedral window "it has been wished for and admired both by the savage and the man of the most refined taste." Of the first glass blower I can tell you nothing. "He must have been a man of great acuteness and originality, for the invention of glass blowing is perhaps more wonderful than that of glass itself." Both Phœnicia and Egypt claim to have been his home, but Egypt in a tomb at Beni Hasan has a painting representing the process, dating from the reign of Osirtasen the first, who was a contemporary of Noah during the last century of his life. This was a thousand years before Solomon. It is spoken of in the book of Job, now generally conceded to be the oldest literary production extant, and there mentioned in the same category as gold, showing that it had not then become common. Homer does not mention it, nor does Dr. Schlieman find it upon the supposed site of Troy, though he does find it in the ruins of Mycenæ. The Chinese do not claim it till about 200 B. C. Herodotus and Pliny mention it. Layard found it in the north-west palace of Nineveh, a transparent green vase, on one side of which is engraved a lion, and a line of cuneiform characters in which is the name of Sargon, king of Assyria B. C. 772. This is now in the British museum. We trace the art through all the ancient nations down to modern times. The legends of most wonderful objects made, of the firing of ships by sun-glasses, of its being malleable and flexible, are numerous. But full of romance and wonder as they are, there is not space in this paper, to dwell upon them. My own belief, after the most careful investigation, is that no century has exceeded the nineteenth in the art of glass-making. In all ages the glass-maker seems to have been a privileged person. He was exempt from military duty. He was the only artisan in the Venetian Republic whose daughter could marry a noble, and no taint descend upon the offspring of such a union.

Glass windows were first introduced into England in 1180. In the reign of Edward III. Chaucer mentions them as a rarity.

When describing his chamber he says "with glass were all the windows well glazed." In the time of Henry VIII. they were considered a luxury, and not used by yeoman and farmer. In the days of Queen Elizabeth they were unknown except in the mansions of a few lords and were regarded as movable furniture. When the Duke of Northumberland left Alnwick Castle to come to London for the winter, the few glass windows which furnished one of the castles were carefully taken out and laid away, or perhaps carried to London to adorn the city residence.

Coming down to our own country we find the first mention of glass-making in connection with the first colony at Jamestown. In Burke's History of Virginia, published in 1804, Vol. I., page 222, we find an account of three rolls. The first has reference to the importation of maids for the colonists. The second roll is for a large guest house, as it is called, a place for the entertainment of early settlers while making homes for themselves. The third roll was for a glass-house. This glass-house seems to have been a speculation of an English company in London, for the making of beads to be used as a currency in trading with the Indians. One Captain Norton with some Italian workmen was sent out to establish this mint. This was in 1621. In Smith's History of Virginia published in London in 1632, a copy of which is in the Harvard College library, we find the following on page 66, "As for hiring Poles and Dutchmen to make pitch, tar and glass" and on page 83 "all this time the Dutchmen remaining with Powhattan, and their comforts not following as they expected, they sent Francis their companion to the Glass-house, a place in the woods, near as may be to Jamestown, where was the rendezvous for all the suspected villainy." On page 163 we find "we sent home ample proofs of pitch, tar, glass, etc., according to instructions sent on, but we had better give for pitch, tar, glass, etc., £100 a ton in Denmark." In the "History of the Virginia Colony of London" published in Albany in 1869, we find, page 231, a letter from the company in London to the Colonial authorities dated July 25, 1621. This letter was sent in the ship George, and I make the following extract, "We commend unto you

Captain William Norton who is now sent out by the general company and many private adventurers for the erecting of a glass-works. We desire he may be planted with his gang in the guest-house that Lieutenant Whitaker has erected us, there to reside till he hath found a convenient place to erect his furnace, in the choice whereof we desire you to give him your best assistance, and especially have a care to seat him near some well-inhabited place, that neither his gang be surprised, nor the commodities of glass and beads be vilified by too common sale to the Indians." On page 236, from the Company's letter of August 27, one month later, we find "In the next place we commend unto your care Captain Norton and six Italians, together with the rest of his company, to which we pray you to be helpful at his landing, to carry his people and goods to the guest-house of Lieut. Whitaker. It is the only body in this ship that the general company hath interest in and therefore we all expect the best help and advice, especially in making choice of a healthy place to plant himself in, near to the best inhabited town, either in Charles City or Henrico, but by no means lower than James City nor remote from people, and in case Captain Norton shall die, we pray your Mr. George Sandy to undertake the oversight of the work, and if he should fail by any misaccident, which God forbid, we entreat you, Mr. General Thorpe, and Mr. Jo. Pointts to take it into your care, and in your absence to appoint some trusty person to ouste this business, for which the general company and private adventurers will be very thankful to you. The making of beads is one of Captain Norton's chief employments, which being the money you trade with the natives, we would by no means have, through too much abundance, vilified, or the Virginians at all permitted to see or understand the manufacture of them. We pray you therefore seriously to consider what proportion of beads can be vented and their worth not abated, and intimate the proportion to Captain Norton and his Italians, and certify the same to us in your next letter, that accordingly we may limit the quantity that shall from time to time be made." The speculation seems to have been a failure, for on page 306 we find "Next the Publique we must again recommend unto you

the last year's undertaking of the glass-works. The fur, the maids and the magazines that each have missed of the present return which they expected, yet in the end the good procured of their adventure may enable and encourage them to go on in these and the like necessary kinds of supplies which have here risen, etc." This is probably the first manufacturing of any sort undertaken in this country. Leaving the Virginia Colony and coming to our own Plymouth, we find the first mention of glass, or rather a substitute for glass, in a letter of Edward Winslow written from Plymouth, Dec. 11, 1621, to some friend in England. In giving directions what to bring over to the new Colony, he says, "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows." This we find in Alex. Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, page 237. In a foot-note Mr. Young says "oiled paper to keep out the snow storms of a New England winter." We, who know what a New England winter is, can realize from this some of the hardships of our pilgrim fathers. It is an indication of progress in domestic comfort when we find Higginson in 1629 writing from Salem to his friends in England "Be sure to furnish yourselves with glass for windows."

The first record of any manufacture of glass in this country aside from beads for a currency, we find in Salem. In *Felt's Annals* VI, 186, we read of the "Glass house field." In 1639 ten acres of land were set off to each of several persons named as glass-makers. Here glass was made for a considerable time.

"The glass house field" was a part of the common afterwards known as the great pasture, a plan of which bearing date of 1723 has a plot of it near what is now Aborn street. As evidence of the importance with which this enterprise was regarded we find in *Massachusetts Colony Records*, Vol. 1, page 344. On Dec. 10, 1641, it was voted "that if the town of Salem lend the glass men £30, they shall be allowed it again out of their next rate, and the glass men shall repay it, if the works succeed, when they are able." In Vol. II., page 137, we find, under date of October, 1645, that John and Ananias Concklin had not labored at glass works for three years, "because the undertaking had not carried them on for that length of time."

They obtained leave of the General Court to conduct the work with others.

We now jump a century in the history of glass manufacture. The next record we have is of special interest to us at Berkshire. An event occurred, which, though it did not result in the establishment of glass-works here, came very near to it. The actual result was the establishing of the works in Quincy, and a grant of land for the support of these works, covering the whole of the present village of Lee. This is what is known as the "Glass works Grant," which is fully described by Mr. Alexander Hyde in his valuable history of that town. From that history and from a history of old Braintree and Quincy, by Dr. William S. Patten, I gather the following facts: "Somewhere between 1740 and 1750 one Mr. Joseph Crellens from Franconia, Germany, came to Philadelphia where he resided a few years, whence he removed to Massachusetts. On his arrival he opened negotiations with the Governor and General Court in reference to the importation of a colony of German protestants into the province, by a petition and otherwise, for that purpose. On January 3d, 1749, a committee appointed by the General Court to take into consideration the importation of protestant Germans, made their report. The substance of this report was as follows: "That it would be a public benefit to import foreign protestants to settle within this province. * * * The committee also propose that there should be two townships of six miles square each allowed them to settle in, viz: the westward township lately laid out at or near Massachusetts fort and one other township east thereof and adjoining thereto. That there be granted to each family that shall settle in either of said towns, one hundred acres, and a further grant of twenty-five acres to each son of such families between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, that each single man that shall settle in either aforesaid towns, these be granted fifty-one acres of land." After considerable management, Mr. Crellens succeeded in having four townships granted him, two of which were located near Fort Massachusetts and were to contain seven square miles of territory. The other two were to be laid out and surveyed in Cumberland County,

Maine, and were to contain six square miles. These grants were made on the condition that Mr. Crellins should import 120 German protestant families into each of the said townships within three years, and also provide a learned orthodox minister for two years in each of them. Mr. Crellins not fulfilling his agreement with the Government within the specified time, the Legislature revoked his grants. "Thus failed" says the historian of Quincy, "the project of establishing glass works in the towns of Lee and Williamstown in 1749." Mr. Crellins was not disheartened by his failure to settle the townships of Williamstown and Lee. The next year, 1750, we find him organizing a company for the purpose of establishing the manufacture of glass. This company, consisting of four Boston gentlemen and one from Philadelphia, leased 100 acres of land of Col. John Quincy for 10s. per acre. The land selected was what was known as "Shed's neck," in the town of Quincy. It was named Germantown and was laid out in squares which were named Berne, Hanover, Hague, Zurich and Mannheim. These were ornamented with trees and shrubs after the style and as reminders of the fatherland. This company contemplated engaging in the manufacture of glass and various other things which were especially needed in the growing colonies. But beyond recording the same on their books, they seem to have actually accomplished nothing but the laying out of a manufacturing town.

"For some reason which we are unable to devise" says the historian of Quincy, "on the 27 August, 1752, they released this township to Gen. Joseph Palmer and Mr. Richard Cranch, who were instructed by the tenor of the lease to begin immediately building operations, which they did by having constructed Glass Works, chocolate mills, spermaceti works, stocking weaving, salt manufacturing, in which common salt, medicinal salts, and saltpetre were manufactured."

As this is perhaps the first attempt in manufacturing beyond that of the household, on a general scale on this continent, I think it will be interesting to dwell upon it more fully than I otherwise should. We must bear in mind that it was more than a year later than this, that George Washington planned

the stockade upon the spot which is now the great manufacturing city of Pittsburgh. In anticipation of his extensive manufacturing operations, Mr. Crellins had ordered a lot of German emigrants and about this time they arrived in Boston very poor and in a suffering condition. To relieve them of their distress the General Court January first, 1752, passed an order requesting the Commissary department of the Province to supply Mr. Peter Etten with beds and blankets for the "poor, suffering Politines," and if there were not a sufficient supply, the commissary was ordered to purchase the number required.

"On January eighth, 1752, Mr. Peter Etten, interpreter for the German and French protestant emigrants, informed the government that twelve of these families had concluded an engagement with Palmer and Cranch at Quincy. On Nov. 27, 1752, Mr. Isaac Winslow memorialized the legislature to grant the company a patent for a term of years for the reason of having been at an expense of hundreds of pounds sterling in erecting a glass house at German town and as they shall have to incur an expense of £2,000 more before they can derive any advantage from glass-making, they therefore ask this monopoly which was granted them. The right to the exclusive manufacture of glass did not relieve their troubles. The sparsely settled colony and the poverty of the inhabitants did not warrant the support of such an enterprise and the manufacturers of Germantown soon became embarrassed for the want of business and the destruction of their buildings by fire. But Joseph Palmer, afterwards Gen. Palmer, was a man of remarkable courage and perseverance. On April 2nd, 1756, we find him before the General Court with a strongly worded petition for the establishment of a lottery in aid of manufacturing interests at Germantown.

"On January 25, 1757, the council voted to dismiss the petition, but the House of Representatives was in favor of granting it, and in 1757, Feb. 12th, the bill, legalizing the lottery for £12,150, was passed, to be enacted, and permission was given for the use of the Hall of Representatives for the purpose of drawing the lottery! Surely an accommodating

legislature. When the glass-works company made a survey for their grant in Lee, they selected the then unappropriated land between the minister's grant and the Hoplands. They modestly asked that as the plot surveyed included about sixty-four acres more than the 1,500 voted them, that the whole tract surveyed might be conveyed to them, which was done in 1755, Jan. 9th. On April 27, 1757, they bought the Indian title of two Indians of Stockbridge, John Pophue-hon-au-wah, and Robert Minghau-wot. As James Bowdoin of Boston owned one sixth of the upper Housatonic township, it was probably through information given by him that the grant was located as it was just north of the Hoplands."—[Springfield Reg., 1-25.]

The next and most important attempt at glass-making previous to this century was made by Mr. Robert Hews of Boston and New Hampshire. He became so much interested in the idea, from reading an article in an English encyclopedia that he determined to engage in the project and chose the forests of New Hampshire as the place to locate, both on account of the sand discovered there and the alkali which could be obtained from the ashes of the burned forests. He obtained from the New Hampshire legislature, March 3rd, 1781, the passage of an act for a glass house lottery for the purpose of raising £2,000 to enable him to build glass-works in Temple, New Hampshire. This lottery proved a failure, but Mr. Hews erected works from his own means, having inherited \$50,000.00, all of which was sunk in the enterprise. His works were soon burned, owing to the carelessness of a drunken fireman. There is in the Harvard cabinet a green-tinted circular plate made by Mr. Hews in Temple, New Hampshire. The chief opposition which Mr. Hews encountered was from his wife, the more prudent of the two, but he seemed almost fanatical upon the subject of glass-making, and could not be happy until he had again embarked in the manufacture. About this time there arrived in Boston Mr. Charles F. Kupfer from the Duchy of Brunswick, Germany, a practical glass-maker. Mr. Hews and Mr. Kupfer met, and the result was the building of the Boston Crown Works on Essex street. Mr. Kupfer returned to his native home for workmen, while Mr. Hews, as per

records of second volume of Massachusetts laws, p. 575, obtained the exclusive right for the manufacture of glass in Massachusetts for ten years. This was on June 15th, 1793. Mr. Kupfer upon his arrival at his old home, found it no easy matter to get his blowers. The works belonged to the Duke of Brunswick, and it was a penal offense either for the men to leave, or for him to entice them away. He was obliged to conceal his designs and operate in the dark, but succeeded in escaping in the night with a set of workmen and sailed from a German port before being overtaken. After a long voyage they landed in Boston and met with a Royal reception. So much interest in the new enterprise had been awakened in the citizens of Boston, that they turned out en masse and escorted them though a dirty set, as some one has recorded, from Long Wharf through State, Washington and what few other streets Boston then boasted, to the works at the corner of Kingston and Essex streets. Under the management of Mr. Kupfer the Boston Crown Works were a success. They turned out a good article and had a monopoly of the business. Their product became very celebrated through out the land, and there is some of it still in one at least of the old houses in Pittsfield. They were well protected by the Government and it is an interesting fact in the early history of glass-making in the different European countries that they were generously fostered by the various governments wherever established. The original par value of the shares of stock of the Boston Crown Works, was \$500.00. They went up to \$3,000.00, but an evil day came. The works were enlarged and incorporated in 1824. Jonathan Hunnewell, Samuel Gore, Samuel H. Walley, Henry G. and John S. Foster were the original corporators. Mr. Kupfer was interfered with in his management by the new board of officers. He retired in disgust and the company soon failed. Mr. Kupfer disposed of his stock and in connection with Caleb G. Loring, established the well-known mercantile glass house of Kupfer & Loring, succeeded by Caleb G. Loring & Co., Tuttle and Gaffield, and Lambert Brothers. The last named are the present successors in Boston. Mr. Kupfer was not connected with the company at the time of its failure and supposed himself free

from all obligations of the company, but he had endorsed notes with the President, Mr. Hunnewell, and before maturing, Mr. Hunnewell had put his property out of his hands, and Mr. Kupfer was called upon to meet the notes amounting to \$20,000.00 which, after a legal contest with Mr. Hunnewell, whom he had arrested, he was obliged to pay. Daniel Webster was Mr. Kupfer's counsel, but without avail. I have in my possession a letter written by his son, John M. Kupfer, and kindly loaned me by Hon. Thomas Gaffield, dated Baden Baden, June 4th, 1862, in which he says "The Duke's Royal Glass-works where my father went to steal away the first workmen for the Boston works, is still in operation." We have now come down to the present century. With its dawn the vigorous young Republic entered energetically into the various branches of manufacture. The embargo acted as a protection. Glass-factories were started in various parts of the country, especially in New Jersey and Western Pennsylvania, but I shall confine this paper to our own state and immediate vicinity. About the year 1800, influenced by the success of the Boston Crown Glass Co., a number of wealthy gentlemen in Albany and vicinity, concluded to start a Glass-works. They first located about ten miles west of Albany in a place now called Sloanville, but in a year or two, found that the sand in that place was not good and that the fuel would soon be exhausted. So in 1802 they turned their attention to Sand Lake, some ten mile east of Albany and about twenty miles west of Pittsfield. They purchased of the late Patron, Mr. Stephen VanRensselaer, some 5,000 acres of wood land and erected their works at Sand Lake. They were incorporated in 1806. Their plant was quite extensive, consisting of two cylinder and one crown furnaces. They soon found that the sand there was too dark and they were obliged to come to Cheshire for a purer article, and for many years, until their works were destroyed by fire in 1816, they carted their sand from the well-known Lane sand bed, about one mile north of the present Berkshire Glass Works. They had to import their skilled workmen. Mr. William Richmond, a Scotchman, was the Superintendent of their works. He went abroad to procure workmen. Disguised

as a mendicant, with a patch upon one eye and playing upon a bag-pipe, he wandered through the glass district of Dunbarton in Scotland and engaged his blowers to cross the Sea. With great difficulty they secreted their tools on Ship-board, for it was a penal offense for glass-workers to leave Scotland as well as Germany. The Crown-blowers were all Scotch, but many of the Clyliner-blowers were German. The Cylinder-blowers were a poor set, intemperate and addicted to extravagant living. They were constantly neglecting their work at critical times and completely exhausted the patience of the manager, till in 1816, through the carelessness of some of the blowers who were playing cards on a pile of straw in a packing-room, the cylinder works were burned down. The owners were not inclined to rebuild, having suffered so much annoyance from their men. For two years, the works lay idle. In 1818 Mr. Isaac B. Fox and Mr. Nathan R. Crandell concluded to revive the business and remodeled the Crown-works into a Cylinder-works. These gentlemen continued twelve years, and in 1830, Messrs. Stadler, Rush & Co., some Germans from New Jersey, leased the works for three years. In 1833 they were sold to two sons of the first Mr. Fox, Messrs. Albert R. and Samuel H. Fox, who are still living, and it is to Mr. Albert R. to whom I am indebted for these facts about one of the most prosperous and long-lived plants in the country. The Fox brothers carried on the Sand Lake works for twenty years, until 1853, when they were burned. Before the destruction of these works, the Fox brothers had established works at Durhamville, Oneida Co., New York, where Mr. Samuel Fox is still manufacturing glass. Mr. Albert Fox was at once employed by the Berkshire Glass Co. to erect and manage their new enterprise in Lanesboro, which we shall mention more fully hereafter. The first fifteen years of this century seemed to be years of great activity in the manufacture of glass. While the Sand Lake works which I have just described were the first in New York state, I find upon the State records that within the next ten years, fourteen glass companies were incorporated in the State of New York. They were mostly short-lived and not one of the fifteen, including the Sand Lake, is

in existence to-day. The first incorporated Glass Co. in Massachusetts, was located in Berkshire County, for the Boston Crown-works which I have spoken of, were not incorporated till 1824. The name of this first incorporated company, was the Adams Glass Company, date of incorporation June 15th, 1812, and the names of its corporators John Whipple, James Mason, Daniel Shearman and others. I have been unable to get any information of this company except its date of incorporation and that it was located in the town of Adams. The next incorporated company was the Boston Porcelain and Glass Co., February 4th, 1814. As this seems to have been more of a porcelain and earthen ware concern than of glass, I shall not dwell upon it. The third Glass Co. incorporated was in Chester and known as the Chester Glass Co. The date of incorporation is June 7, 1814. The names of incorporators are Jesse Farrar, John Dewey, Charles Douglas, D. and L. King, Benjamin Hastings and others. The only information I can get about these works, is that they ran one year. Two days later, June 9th, 1814, the Farmer's Glass Co. located in Clarksburgh was incorporated. The names of incorporators were Rufus Darling, Ebenezer Pratt, A. Southwick, Daniel Aldrich, John and Isaac Sherman. I have tried to get some information about these works, but have been unsuccessful. The fifth incorporated Glass Co. was June 15, 1815, "The Ludlow Glass Manufacturing Co.," at Ludlow near Springfield. Thus we see that four out of the first five incorporated Glass companies in Massachusetts were located in the western part of the state. Another one and the most important of all, though a private enterprise and never incorporated, was the Cheshire Crown Glass Works, which were built and commenced operations in 1813 according to the best authority that I can get. These Cheshire Works were the second in point of date, the Adams Co. being in 1812 and the Chester and Clarksburg being in 1814. The Capitalist of this concern was Captain David Brown, and the company consisted of his sons Darius and John, John D. Leland, son of the celebrated Parson Leland, and a man named Hunt. These were crown works and situated on the stream and close by the present sand works of the

Gordon Co. Though built directly over one of the finest sand deposits in the country, the proprietors were ignorant of it and brought their sand some three miles from the Lane bed, previously mentioned in connection with the Sand Lake works. There are many interesting legends connected with these works, relating principally to the difficulties encountered, trouble with drunken workmen, etc. They ran only between two and three years, but sufficiently long, to financially ruin the proprietors. Captain Brown ran a store and distillery in connection with the Glass Works, and from his day-book which I have, the workmen seem to have been more dependent upon the distillery than upon the store for their daily pay. I have on a separate sheet the records of all the incorporated Glass Works in the state, since this time, but only mention two, and these, on account of their present importance, until we come to the Berkshire Glass Co.

There were many Flint works established between 1815 and 1860, but the New England Glass Co. of East Cambridge, incorporated in 1818, and the Boston and Sandwich in 1826, have been the most prominent, and are in active operation to-day. Their wares are famous the land over as being most beautiful and artistic. The superiority of their wares is due to the Berkshire Sand, which they as well as the others who attempt to compete with them, are obliged to use. Their only rivals, in Pittsburgh and Wheeling, Va., use the Berkshire sand. I will here remark that the only obstacles to Berkshire becoming the great and chief glass-producing locality in our country, are, lack of cheap fuel and high rail-road freights. On March 23, 1847, was incorporated the Berkshire Glass Co. The original incorporators are Samuel Smith, W. D. B. Linn and William T. Filley, well known names to this audience. The Capital stock was limited to \$100,000.00. The stock was principally taken in Boston and it became, before beginning manufacturing, virtually a Boston concern. In 1853, soon after the destruction of the Sand Lake works, Mr. A. R. Fox was appointed Superintendent and the works were immediately erected. With the exception of one year, during the panic of 1857-8, these works have been constantly in operation and are the only

window-glass works in operation in New England. The Berkshire Glass Co. abandoned manufacturing in 1857. Mr. Fox resigned the superintendency after one year's service and was succeeded by Mr. S. T. Whipple, who continued in charge till 1857, when the works were closed. They were bought by the present owners in 1858 and very much enlarged, so that their present capacity is quadruple that of the original works as built by the Berkshire Glass Company. There has been added to the original production of common cylinder glass, thin-rolled plates and colored cathedral, also the processes of grinding and enamelling.

From 1858 to 1883 the works were operated by the firms of Page & Robbins, Page & Harding, and Page, Harding & Co. In 1883 they were again incorporated as The Berkshire Glass Company, the stockholders being members of the old firm of Page, Harding & Co. While fairly prosperous for thirty years, they are now suffering from competition with factories where natural gas and other cheap fuels abound, and where rail-road freights are much more advantageous than in Berkshire. Soon after the incorporation of the Berkshire Glass Co. we find May 2nd, 1849, on the state records, that of the Massachusetts Glass Co. in Cheshire. Various experiments in the manufacture of rough plate glass were made by the company, but it was short-lived.

In 1853, the same year that the Berkshire Glass Co. began operation, Glass Works were erected at Lenox Furnace by the Lenox Iron Co. Seneca Pettee was the first Superintendent. Window glass was made during two short blasts. Not proving a financial success, the manufacture of window glass was abandoned. In the fall of 1855 the property was leased to J. N. Richmond and the factory was changed from window glass to rough plate. During the winter of 1855-6 a stock company was organized by Richmond under the name of the National Plate Glass Co. The tables for casting and other fixtures were moved from Cheshire, where an attempt to manufacture plate glass had been made by Richmond a short time previous to this. The Stockholders were principally from New York, and chief among them were Judge Lawrence and Richard Busteed,

formerly Corporation Counsel for New York city. The enterprise was not successful and in the fall of 1856, this company failed and the works fell back into the hands of the Lenox Iron Co.

In the Spring of 1858 the Iron Co. resumed the manufacture of Rough Plate Glass, and made a successful run till 1862, when the works were destroyed by fire, involving a loss of buildings and \$25,000 worth of manufactured stock with no insurance. They were immediately rebuilt of wood and successfully run till May, 1865, when the Lenox Plate Glass Co. was organized and continued the manufacture of Rough Plate till December 1869, when the property and business was transferred to a new company called the Lenox Glass Co. This new company erected a large plant of iron and added to the Rough Plate business the manufacture of window glass and Cryolite glass, and also erected a fine building for polishing the Rough Plate. A large amount of the money was expended for machinery, which proved a failure and the company was obliged to succumb. The sand for these works was obtained from Washington Mountain from a bed at the east end of Lake Ashley, the source of Pittsfield's water supply. While Berkshire County has the purest, whitest sand in the world, the essential element for making the finest glass, its manufacture is probably doomed from the lack of cheap fuel, which other localities possess, and from the heavy transportation rates consequent upon having no competing railroad lines. The freight rates from Berkshire to New York are higher than from Belgium, the great glass producing country of the world. The excessive freight rates on coal from Albany to Berkshire makes the full cost more than twenty-five per cent above that of other districts where glass is made.

INDIAN LAND GRANTS IN
STOCKBRIDGE.

E. W. B. CANNING.

INDIAN LAND GRANTS IN STOCKBRIDGE.

The ownership of lands in severalty by Indians is one of the important topics of Social Science to-day. Its bearings are both political and humanitarian, and its proper adjustment has awakened the sympathy and wisdom of philanthropists, male and female, throughout the land.

It may not be within the knowledge of many of the present dwellers in our County that the experiment and its results were made facts in Stockbridge, in our own Berkshire, nearly 150 years ago, and, taken in connection with similar attempts on a smaller scale in some other of our New England commonwealths, and its repetition with the emigrant Housatonies on their present reservation in Wisconsin, may be regarded as conclusive so far as *direct contact* with the whites is concerned therein.

An important day it was—that 11th of June, 1750—when the dusky roamers of the lower Housatonic valley gathered at the Mission meeting-house in Stockbridge for a purpose whose importance, probably neither they nor their few pale-faced neighbors at the time fully realized. That purpose is set forth in the following document from the State archives :

“IN COUNCIL, DEC. 29, 1749.

It is hereby resolved and declared, that the Indians of the Housatonic Tribe, who are and have been settlers or proprietors of land within the town of Stockbridge, and their heirs or descendants, are and shall be a distinct propriety ; and that Timothy Dwight, Esq., be, and hereby is, empowered to repair to said town as soon as may be, and call a meeting of the proprietors aforesaid, by posting a notification in writing on the fore-side of the meeting-house in said town 14 days before the time appointed for holding said meeting, setting forth the time, place, ends and purposes

of said meeting ; at which meeting said proprietors are hereby empowered, by a major vote, to ascertain the number of the proprietors, and what each proprietor's portion shall be, and to choose a Clerk who shall be under oath to record all legal notes, grants and orders of said proprietors in a book for the purpose, and also of all the lands heretofore laid out by order of the Committee formerly appointed by the General Court for that purpose. And the said proprietors are hereby empowered to call meetings hereafter at any time that ten of said proprietors shall judge necessary, they applying to the Clerk by writing under their hands for the same, setting forth the ends and purposes of said meeting, and the Clerk posting the same on the foreside of the meeting-house 14 days before the said meeting be held ; at which meeting respectively the major part of said proprietors are hereby empowered to choose a Moderator and all such officers as proprietors of general fields, by the laws of this Province may do and for the better regulating and ordering of the affairs of said propriety ; and to divide and dispose of their undivided lands to and amongst the said proprietors or any of them, as they shall judge necessary for their settlement and improvement. And also may admit Indians of other tribes to live amongst them, and they make grants of lands to such Indians in order to their improving the same ; such grants to be made with this proviso or condition—that, in case the said grantee or his descendants shall leave the settlement and remove from the said town of Stockbridge, they shall not have the power of alienating or any way disposing of said granted lands, but the same shall revert to the proprietors.

And it is further declared that the Indian inhabitants of the town of Stockbridge are and shall be, subjected to and receive the benefit of the laws of this Government to all intents and purposes in like manner as other, his Majesty's subjects of this Province are subjected or do receive. Provided always—that nothing in this order shall be understood to enable any of his Majesty's English subjects to become purchasers of any part of the Indian lands contrary to the provision made by law for preventing the same.

Sent down for concurrence,

SAMUEL HOOLBROOKE, Dept. Sec.

In the House of Representatives, Dec. 30, 1749.

Read and concurred, J. DWIGHT, Speaker.

Consented to—S. PHIPPS."

The records closes with this addendum :

"The original, of which the above is a true copy, I posted on the fore-side of the Meeting-house above said, on the 26th day of May above said.

Attest, TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

On the day appointed a motley assemblage of aboriginal candidates for civilization was gathered in the Mission meeting-house to receive their first lesson in individual possession of real estate. Mr. Dwight was elected Moderator and Timothy

Woodbridge—(Mr. Sergeants schoolmaster)—Clerk. The preparation of the list of claimants and the process of allotment occupied two days. It was ascertained that sixty tawny presentors were entitled to ownership in severalty, of whom four were of other tribes and one a negro who had married a squaw of the Housatonies, and by virtue of the conditions of the grant, was permitted to receive and hold, but not to alienate, his allotment. Thirteen of the 60, with Capt. Konkapot among them had priorly, as “settlers and proprietors,” assumed control of 1,670 acres, in varying portions, of their own selection, probably as having been residents within the boundaries of the new township, while the others were gathered in from their other two centers, at Gt. Barrington and Sheffield. It was, however, amicably agreed that these 1,670 acres should be equally divided, between them, and any shortage in actual due made up from the undivided lands. Of the sixty, ten received 80 acres; ten 60; thirty-nine 50; and one ten acres. Their names, (of which 34 have an English or Dutch pronunciation)—expressed in from 3 to 6 uncouth syllables, are duly recorded with the accompanying allotments in painful fidelity by the Clerk, whose time and patience must have been sorely tried by the task. I observe, however, that he is not always uniform in his orthography: since the same name, when repeated elsewhere, betrays a desire to get at a result by the *phonetic* method, as being the shortest road and beyond danger of legal censure in a point on which the owner himself of the appellative could give him no reliable information. Some of these embryo citizens are to be recognized on the records of the town with their white brethren in the offices of the selectmen, assessors, constables, fence-viewers, etc.; two, at least, as deacons in the church, and several bearing military titles during service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars. I find no mention of Lieut. Umpachene, (except once as if owner of an adjacent lot)—who was the second man of the tribe when the mission was established, although he lived till August, 1751. But Capt. Konkapot, Dea. Panquannawpeet, Benjamin Kankeenawnauwant, (Anglicé “King Ben”) who lived 104 years, and Johannes Metoxin, of the sturdy lungs, who blew

the great conch-shell to call to church, for 20 shillings per annum—these all bore off their award of 80 acres with dignity thrown in, on that famous day.

The six English families who had been invited to come and settle among them several years before, as pattern farmers and housekeepers, were already in possession of their respective endowments, comprising a 60th part of the new township, each. Four of the six occupied the ridge lying directly north of the present village, which they evidently designed should be the commercial and social center of the town. Only one of the dwellings they erected there—(the second and last home of the missionary Sergeant, built, probably, in 1747), is still standing.

At their first meeting the proprietors voted that they “would make a division of but half of their undivided lands at present, that they might be able with convenience to admit Indians of other tribes to live among them and make grants to them for improvements, so long as said Indians or their descendants shall dwell in the town and do common duties with others.”

The Commissioner next proceeded to lay off the lots along what is now the Main street of the village, with the design—so saith the record—“of describing what each person is in possession of and thereby laying a foundation for quiet possession hereafter, rather than attempt any new division according to their rights as proprietors in the Township.”

Whatever this may have meant, the next transaction was the laying off of a plot of ground 26 rods square, including the site of the Meeting-house, as a public common and training-field. A portion of it was also assigned as a Cemetery for whites and red-men, the latter having previously buried their dead in the sandy shoulder of a low bluff which breaks down toward the Housatonic just in the rear of the present residence of Col. Dwight. A unique monument, built a few years since by the Laurel Hill Association, occupies the center of this sepulchral spot. This square was the initial point from which diverged the main street and the highways in these directions. The former ran about due east and nearly level for one mile to Mill brook, where now stands the sawmill of Mr. S. M.

Comstock. It was laid $6\frac{1}{2}$ rods wide for about two-thirds of its length, and contracted to $4\frac{1}{2}$ for the remainder. The house-lots along the street varied in frontage, from 6 to 22 rods along the north side and still more on the other. From the old field-book, with a tape line, the present villagers of Stockbridge can ascertain, though they may not be able to pronounce the name of the original owners of their properties. The writer had the curiosity to do so, and finding that his house-lot was assigned to "Capt. Jno. Konkapot and his son Robert," improved the suggestion and dubbed his residence "The Wigwam"—which although neither pretensions nor classical, has, at least, the merit of being specific and historical. These north-side village lots ran so far northward as to meet the south line of the English holdings on the hill.

And now, all the preliminaries of civil life having been finished, the novitiates settled down to its practice. It is known that the influences of their church, their school, their model farmers and housekeepers, and the social habits and examples of their white occupants, all operated to set them, in civil status, quite in advance of any of the aboriginal tribes of our country before or since, with the exception of the Cherokees, Choctaws and Creeks of the present time. As has been already mentioned, they were represented among the town and church officials, bore military titles, were enrolled among the alumni of Harvard and Dartmouth, and one of them wrote a comprehensive and creditable history of his people. I have found on several old deeds of sale excellent specimens of Indian penmanship—(some of them the signatures of squaws)—and as frequent as those made by mark.

The Proprietors' Record-Book shows that regular Annual and many special, meetings were held henceforward, the last occurring in May, 1781, although surveys of the land sold or otherwise alienated, are recorded to 1790. Until his decease in 1774, the venerable Timothy Woodbridge continued both moderator and clerk at all these gatherings. His own minutes prove that his services were not uncompensated, and probably few items which his duty obliged him to record gave him greater satisfaction than those which, every now and then,

registered a grant of "50 acres of undivided lands" in his own behoof. His 24 years' official work must have made him a large land holder. It may be that he, like many other managers, while looking carefully with one eye after the interests of his dependent clients, kept the other fully as widely open to his own. This may seem to be measuring an old-time official by a modern standard, and as in so doing we may defame a really worthy trustee, we will gladly give him the benefit of the doubt and expunge the recorded suggestion.

A natural query may here be started. Why did this state of things continue less than 40 years? Why did the grantees leave the scene of their adopted civilization and fruitful progress, and lapse so far into insignificance as that, probably, many of the present occupants of their old allotments may never have even heard of them?

The question may, I opine, find an explanation from the time-stained pages of the "Proprietors' Book," and in the century's experience since of our dealing with others of the red-race within our national borders.

Let us then to the records:—

At the meeting of May 1766, it was thus voted: "Granted to Wm. Goodrich"—(a white hotel-keeper and a captain of minute-men in the Revolution)—"in consideration of his having his ox killed, 50 acres of land." And again—"Voted 100 acres * * * to Daniel Rowley Richmond, in consideration of his paying £37 for Jacob Unkamug, to liberate said Unkamug from prison."

Another—"Voted that T. Woodbridge, Esq., make sale for the payment of the just debts of the Indian proprietors who have not ability otherwise to discharge their debts, all that tract of land lying &c., &c."

Again—"Voted and granted to Elias and Benjamin Willard 100 acres of land, in consideration of their discharging £50 New York currency debts due to them from sundry Indian proprietors." At the same time 50 acres were granted to Stephen Nash "to encourage him to set up his blacksmith's trade in the town of Stockbridge."

In 1767, it was—"Voted that 100 acres of land belonging to the Indian proprietors of Stockbridge be sold for the payment of a debt of £40 due to one Moses Parsons of Windsor."

A little of the *nepotism*, so common in modern times, looks out of one item in 1769, thus—"Voted to Timothy Woodbridge, Jr., son of Timothy Woodbridge, 50 acres of land to be laid out in the town, where the said child's friends shall choose."

Another item: "Voted that two 50 acre lots on Maple Hill, also 20 acres adjoining the same be sold for the payment of the proprietors' debt." At the next meeting 50 acres more were ordered sold for the same purpose. Another vote authorizes 56 acres more devoted to the same object.

Medical services rendered the Indians were paid in the same manner, as per the following—"Voted, that Timothy Woodbridge pay to Dr. Sergeant for doctoring the Indians about £9 lawful money—te be paid out of the Indians' money for lands sold."

Here is a minute of another sort: "Voted and granted to Joseph Woodbridge and Zenas Parsons 150 acres of land in consideration of £71, 15 shillings lawful money, which said Joseph and Zenas advanced and expended for said Indian proprietors in their endeavoring to recover the lands belonging to them for their services in the Government as soldiers."

In 1769, 40 acres were sold to cancel an Indian debt and to defray their part of the expense of fencing the burying-ground. At the same meeting Capt. Daniel Nimham, "owing a large sum of money which he cannot pay, save by the sale of his original grant," is given liberty to do so. It was also voted—"That, whereas Geo. Mineturn, having been long sick and thereby in debt, and still unable to do any business for a livelihood, that he have liberty to make sale of the 50 acre lot which the proprietors granted him, for to pay his debts and support him under his difficulties."

The *Surveyors* of the lands ordered sold also seem to have received remarkably good compensation in kind; as, in 1770, 50 acres of Indian land were so devoted. And in the same

year 50 acres were sold to aid in building a bridge over the Housatonic.

One of the articles of the warrant for the Annual Meeting of 1771 reads thus :—"To see if the said proprietors will order and grant some of their common lands to be sold for the payment of several Indian debts, who have judgements of courts and executions issued against them, and must unavoidably be committed to jail, except relieved by the proprietors." The sequel of this was the sale of a very large tract of mountain wood land to Col. Williams and Dea. Brown, the former of whom was the founder of the West Stockbridge Iron Works.

In 1780, it was voted to sell all the remaining undivided lands in the south part of the town for the payment of the public debts.

It seems occasionally to have occurred to these new wards of civilization that the skins of those with whom they were dealing might be whiter than some of their transactions ; that the general management of their affairs was somewhat inexplicably one-sided ; in short, that if there were no overt trickery on the part of their English neighbors, there was a considerable economy of patent honesty. A vote passed at the annual meeting of 1770 is suggestive. Thus it runs :—"Voted—That the Surveyor shall ascertain the quantity of lots laid out by the English, which have been sold by the Indians, in order to know whether such lots *do not exceed the quantity so sold*, and that said surveyor and chairman *shall be under oath* for the faithful discharge of said service." The above are specimens of some 60 votes on the subject of Indian-land sales, more or less comprehensive, for various reasons, during about 30 years. As only the whites had the wherewithal for purchase and payment, it may be seen how, gradually, but surely, the little Indian commonwealth was swallowed and absorbed by their astute and thrifty neighbors. Toward the close of the residence of the tribe in Stockbridge, they seemed to have awaked to the fact that the superior intelligence and the greed of the pale-faces were too much for them and were surely leading them to pauperism and extinction. When, therefore, the friendly offer of the Oneidas of Central New York was

tendered, of a share in their own Reservation, it presented the alternative of tribal death or final removal from their straitened locality, even at the sacrifice of the burial place of their fathers. Their experience had proved that "knowledge is power," and that power is not unselfish. The simple fact seems to have been, that, even without attributing deliberate intention in the premises, the natural and inevitable result of the contract of simplicity with shrewdness, of ignorance with intelligence, of barbarism with civilization, happened in this case, as, methinks, it will ever happen—the weaker party must go to the wall. In the vegetable kingdom it is the invariable law, that the stronger growth will crowd out and re-place the weaker, and the same law prevails in the world of mankind. Given the juxtaposition, or rather, the commingling of an enterprising, intelligent and progressive, with a simple, untutored and indolent people, and neither philosophy nor metaphysics need be tasked to foretell the outcome.

As tending farther to enlighten the severalty experiment, its repetition with the same people, some 45 or 50 years ago, may here be noted. After their last removal to Shawanee Co., Wisconsin, where they now are, a fine tract of timber on their reservation attracted the notice of some white speculators who were eager to gain possession. Unable to obtain the vote of the tribe, as a body, to that end, they craftily persuaded their proposed victims that land-ownership in severalty would give them a more independent status in the social scale and push them a long step forward toward full citizenship. Against strong opposition by the elders of the tribe who foresaw the results, they gained over many of the younger men, and colluding with the District representative in Congress, prepared a bill, engineered it through, and then, with the usual machinery of agents and Commissioners, made an individual distribution of the land. Next, with the shining coin in hand, they obtained their timber and left their dupes to encounter the results. These were—that a large portion of the tribe, mostly the young and inexperienced, who had been bought out, found their presence unwelcome, and having squandered the proceeds of their severalties, were told to shift for themselves and relieve

the remonstrants of their support. This they did by becoming scattered and merged with the wilder natives of the farther west. Thus the formerly united and prosperous little community was reduced by more than a third of its members. As soon as the mischievous tendency of the enactment was realized, through the exertions of their preacher and leaders, aided by a few philanthropic congressmen of the present Dawes pattern, it was repealed and matters placed *in statu quo*, except the consequences of the measure, which were irremediable.

As mentioned in our prefatory remarks, our story has chosen relations with questions concerning our Western Indians now agitating the country. To my own mind one thing appears morally certain—that to render any experiment of land-owning in severalty effectual of solid and permanent good to the Indians, absolute prohibition of white residency among them, save for educational purposes, should be enacted and enforced. I understand Mr. Dawes' bill on the subject, now pending Congressional action, forbids alienation of ownership for 25 years; inferring, doubtless, that a quarter century will suffice to render the recipients competent, with proper appliances in aid, to manage their own affairs independently of white influence. This *may* suffice to save the Indian from extinction, and it may *not*. Certainly the time is brief enough for the demonstration of a great moral problem on whose results we may speculate; but which are knowable only to Him "who controls events and governs futurity."

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO
QUEBEC.

W. E. COLLINS.



ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC.

The rivalry of Col. Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold regarding the question of leadership in the Ticonderoga and Crown Point campaign will be readily recalled as it was pre-eminently a Berkshire expedition. This emulation between the two leaders was in reality the cause of Arnold's expedition to Quebec—a fact that has been generally overlooked by historians. The shores and waters of Lakes Champlain and George had already been the scenes of exciting conflict in the French and Indian Wars.

These lakes and their vicinity had been visited by Arnold when a boy; and, being thoroughly acquainted with their neighborhood, he now conceived the idea of attacking the important posts along their shores which he knew were carelessly guarded and were well filled with valuable stores and ammunition.

Hastening to Cambridge he presented his case so well that a committee appointed for the purpose immediately commissioned him colonel, and authorized him to raise four hundred troops for the expedition. The Congress of Massachusetts, voted him money, ammunition and horses, and he at once started for Western Massachusetts, where he had been instructed to raise troops.

Arriving in Stockbridge early in May, 1775, he was astonished at learning that a well-equipped company under the command of Ethan Allen had already started out with the same purpose in view and were now well on their way towards the lakes. Without waiting to raise troops, Arnold hastily advanced and soon overtook Allen's party, when he showed his credentials and claimed the command. The "Green Mountain boys,"

however, refused to recognize the alleged rights of the stranger, naturally preferring their own officers. The controversy ended in Arnold's yielding; and he accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, though still maintaining his rank.

Side by side these two brave men underwent the fatigues and dangers incident to the march and the attack on the forts; but they did not share equally in the glory of the victory. To Allen fell all the praise, while Arnold's brave deeds excited little attention, his zeal and energy being passed over almost unnoticed. Stung by this lack of appreciation (for Arnold was a proud man) and angered by the insults of his enemies in Massachusetts, who had magnified his faults, he handed in his resignation and abandoned Crown Point.

Arnold had already won the confidence and friendship of Gen. Washington; and now, in his trouble, he naturally turned to him for advice. His restless brain had planned a daring expedition (although it is doubted whether he originated the idea,) viz. an attack upon Quebec by marching through the wilderness of Maine.

The importance of this city, Quebec, in a military point of view during the Revolutionary War cannot be overestimated. Situated on rocky cliffs and made almost impregnable by nature and the art of man, this "Gibraltar of America" had ever been regarded by England and France as the key to the Canadas.

The project of storming Quebec and winning over the Canadians to take sides with the Colonies as against the Mother Country was a plan long cherished by Washington; and indeed he had already despatched Gen. Schuyler to lead an army up into Canada by the way of the Great Lakes.

The route Arnold proposed lay through vast forests and swamps and along rushing rivers made dangerous by hidden rocks and unexpected water falls. These adventurers would have to feel their way as few, if any, guides had ever penetrated into this wilderness.

The only sources of information open to them were a meagre journal written by an explorer some fifteen years before, together with a few scanty facts obtained from friendly Indians

and an imperfect map made by a surveyor, which was of use to them only during the first stages of the journey.

An enterprise so hazardous, encompassed by so many difficulties and dangers, was not to be lightly undertaken. That Washington appreciated its importance as well as its dangers is shown by a letter to Arnold, "You are entrusted with a command" he says, "of the utmost consequence to the liberties of America; on your conduct and courage and that of the officers and soldiers detached on this expedition not only the success of your present enterprise and your own honor, but the safety and welfare of the whole country may depend."

This expedition should be of especial interest to us, as most of the soldiers were natives of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and were the bravest and best of the New England Continental troops. The detachment consisted of ten companies of musketeers and three companies of riflemen, most of them well-to-do and independent farmers who were unused to the discipline of the camp. The three companies of riflemen were carefully selected troops from the mountainous parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, all familiar with the management of the birch-canoe, skilled in wood-craft and well acquainted with the wild Indian.

Such an expedition and such a body of men needed to be commanded by an officer at once resolute and sagacious, having in short, all the inborn qualities of a natural leader of men; and such a one Arnold proved himself to be.

Gen. Washington, in his letter to Congress, dated Sept. 21st, 1775, says, "I am now to inform the honorable Congress, that, encouraged by the repeated declarations of the Canadians and Indians and urged by their requests I have detached Col. Arnold with 1000 men to penetrate into Canada by the way of the Kennebec river, and, if possible, to make himself master of Quebec. By this manœuvre I expect either to divert Carleton from St. Johns, which would leave a free passage to Gen. Schuyler: or, if this did not take effect, Quebec in its present defenceless state, must fall into his hands an easy prey."

He also furnished Arnold with copies of a manifesto, printed at Cambridge, that he might distribute them among the Canadians.

This address was signed by Washington, and concludes with the follow words : “ Let no man desert his habitation—let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of Liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen ; whatever may be his religion or his descent, the United Colonies know no distinction, but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion may create.

Come, then, ye generous citizens ! range yourselves under the standard of general Liberty—against which all the force and artifice of tyranny will never be able to prevail ! ”

Early in September 1775, everything being in readiness, the troops embarked at Newburyport on transports and reached their starting point, not far from the present city of Augusta, near the end of the month.

Arnold’s plan was to ascend the Kennebec as far as practicable, thence to push his way over the water-shed separating the rivers of New England from those of Canada ; and when once over the “ carry ” (as such portages are called) he hoped to be able to strike some branch of the Chaudiere, a stream emptying into the St. Lawrence.

That the perils and privations incident to a journey of this nature could have been surmounted seems incredible to the modern sportsman who passes his summer vacation hunting and fishing in these same woods. While being paddled by his guide up the beautiful waters of the Kennebec, his birch well stocked with all things needful—coffee, sugar, canned vegetables, potted meats, etc.—his portable tent rolled up behind him, his fly-rod and repeating rifle by his side—he can with difficulty realize that a little more than one hundred years ago this small party of brave men toiled on through these solitudes, drenched by every storm, insufficiently clad and oftentimes half starved ; and for what object ? the storming of the strongest and most perfectly equipped fortress on the continent !

Although this scheme may seem to us preposterous and foolhardy, we should remember that these were no ordinary men—theirs was no ordinary leader. Arnold’s control over his men on this march was simply wonderful ; his personal magnetism and cheerful bearing gladdened every despairing heart and en-

couraged the troops to endure to the end. That such was the case is shown by the letter of an officer written shortly afterwards: "Our Commander" he says, "is a gentleman worthy of the trust reposed in him, a man, I believe, of invincible courage, of great prudence; ever serene, he defies the greatest danger to affect, or difficulties to alter, his temper: in fine you will ever find him the intrepid hero and the unruffled Christian."

One of the earliest, as well as one of the greatest difficulties to be overcome was the method of securing transportation for the troops. Horses were out of the question, as the trackless forest could be traversed only by the deer or other denizens of the woods.

In order to gain as accurate a knowledge of the country as possible, Arnold sent on in advance a scouting party of eight or ten men who were to select the most available route and "blaze" the trees as they proceeded to guide the remainder of the army behind. Perhaps in no better way can we get at a true knowledge of the hardships undergone by the army than by a recital of the difficulties and dangers which befell this advance party.

In two birch-bark canoes, each carrying five or six men, a barrel of pork, a bag of meal and two or three hundred pounds of biscuit, this brave little party started off on their long and dangerous journey through the hitherto almost unexplored wilderness. At first they encountered few, if any difficulties; soon however, leaving the broad waters of the Kennebec they pushed up a smaller stream, around whose frequent falls and shallows the canoes and their loads had to be carried on the shoulders of the party.

The voyager of to-day is embarrassed but little by these "carries," as guides have cleared away the underbrush for the most part and the paths are well defined by reason of the frequent "blazed" trees. But at the time of which we write the summer hotel with its small army of guides was of course unknown; no Yankee landlord had employed these same guides to make locomotion easy by the formation of corduroy roads. These "carries" were greatly dreaded, as the troops were

obliged to cut their way through dense thickets and toil laboriously through swamps where they frequently sank in the soft mud up to their knees. Their progress was still further impeded by their heavy load, being weighed down by the luggage as well as by the canoes, which although so light and graceful upon the waters, are, nevertheless, unwieldy and awkward things to manage on land and especially so in dense woods.

Our description would be incomplete, did we fail to make mention of that bane of the woods, the mosquito. The average sportsman of to-day would as soon think of leaving his fly-rod at home as neglecting to take with him a bottle of tar and grease to smear over his face, hands and neck. Let us hope that this little band possessed a goodly portion of this invaluable mixture. It was a great trial to the soldiers to be obliged to refrain from firing at game, especially as they were so tired of their scanty diet of salt pork; but the possible proximity of hostile Indians made this precaution imperative.

It was now well on in October. As the party advanced the weather grew colder, and owing to their insufficient clothing their sufferings were extreme. After an incredible amount of labor these scouts succeeded in reaching their destination, viz. the head waters of the Chaudiere; they then turned and retraced their steps to join the main party, which was struggling on far behind. Though meeting with many mishaps, such as sinking their canoes by running upon hidden rocks and falling over unseen precipices on their way over the "carries," the hungry and starving men, reduced to extreme weakness by long fasting, finally regained the army and were welcomed by their comrades as men returned from the dead.

The advance of the army was extremely slow. The rifle corps always preceded the other troops; the loaded boats usually carried three men apiece, while the remainder of the troops marched by land. After many weary days the great "carry" over the water-shed was finally reached and the army continued its march through the woods along the banks of the Chaudiere. The French word signifies a "cauldron" and the word is aptly applied, for the swift boiling waters of the stream dashed to pieces every boat launched upon it.

Although the most difficult part of their journey had been accomplished, they had not yet completed their toilsome march. Provisions had long since failed them and the little army was toiling down the river, weary, disconsolate and starving. Men would constantly dart from the ranks and dig up roots of plants with their fingers, eating them raw. Two or three dogs belonging to the soldiers were eagerly devoured, and after the meal the bones were carefully collected, pounded up, and boiled to make broth for another meal. Old moose-hide breeches were first boiled, then broiled on the coals and eaten—in fact all the horrors of famine were experienced during this stage of the journey by these unhappy men.

It was a memorable day for these weary adventurers when, on the third of November, they emerged from the wilderness and entered a flat, rich country, finely cultivated and dotted with farm-houses. Their perilous journey was ended, but unknown dangers awaited them yet. What a picture this scene presents! A little band of men, at the best not more than seven hundred strong, (for many had fallen by the way) exhausted and nearly disheartened by the terrible sufferings they had undergone, rallying around their leader to march forward to the assault of Quebec. It was the plan of Arnold to take the city by surprise; but in this project he was defeated by his imprudence in sending a letter to a friend by an Indian, who betrayed his confidence and delivered the dispatches to the Governor General of the Provinces, nearly a month before Arnold's arrival at the gates of Quebec.

Upon arriving at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, they found that every boat in the neighborhood had been removed or destroyed and that there were no means for ferrying the troops across.

Arnold, however, was not discouraged; he had not come all this distance to be baffled at the very threshold by any such difficulty. By almost superhuman exertions he procured some forty birch bark canoes from the Canadians and Indians. But a heavy storm coming up, it was found impossible to make the attempt; and the restless leader had to curb his impatience as best he might for several days before the water was sufficiently

smooth to bear the frail craft. The garrison in the town was gaining in strength with every day's delay; but Arnold was powerless and had to bide his time.

At this point the inspiring news that St. Johns had been captured by Montgomery was brought in and the soldiers were greatly cheered in consequence.

That very night, the storm having abated, an immediate attack was agreed upon; and with great difficulty and considerable danger, the troops were ferried across. By daylight the cliffs had been scaled and Arnold's flag was waving on the Plains of Abraham under the very walls of the city in front of the Gate of St. John. Now was the golden opportunity; but the precious moments were consumed by a council of war. The intrepid Arnold was in favor of dashing through the gate, which was open and unguarded. Had they done so, success would have been probable. But the more cautious ones advocated siege. Meantime the unsuspecting garrison (who thought the enemy still at Point Levi, held in check by the broad St. Lawrence) had been notified of the approach of the Colonials; the news flew through the city; soldiers and citizens alike flocked to the walls and the din of arms resounded through the streets. Suddenly the cry was heard: "The gate of St. John is open!" "The gate is open!" A frantic rush was made for the gate. The keys were not to be found! The confusion and excitement were terrible. Ropes and hand spikes were quickly brought and the gate was made fast. An attempt was then made by the Americans to provoke a sally on the part of the British; but they prudently remained behind the walls. In the evening Arnold sent a flag of truce demanding the surrender of the city in the name of the United Colonies; but his overtures were rejected and the flag was fired upon.

Several days elapsed in this manner; then came news of the surrender of Montreal, and shortly after Montgomery joined Arnold's forces and an immediate assault was decided upon. In this assault officers and soldiers did all in their power to carry the place; but the odds were too great. Finally, after a desperate struggle, with the brave Gen. Montgomery killed, Gen. Arnold severely wounded, and hundreds of their com-

rades lying dead before the walls, the intrepid fellows fell back, and Quebec was abandoned to the English.

Looking back now, it is difficult to surmise what the result would have been if the expedition had proved successful.

It has been suggested that the power of the free states thus strengthened might have prevented the extension of slavery—that slavery itself might possibly have been abolished without the intervention of the great Civil war. On the other hand, although the fall of Quebec would have seemed like a great victory, nevertheless a large garrison would have been necessary to defend it; and a concentration of the British troops upon the remainder of the Continental army, thus weakened, might have proved disastrous to the hopes of American independence.

This expedition has been compared to the march of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon. But this was an advance—not a retreat; and every day brought the Americans nearer the enemy, as it took them further away from home.

August 1st, 1883.

SANDISFIELD:
ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

AARON W. FIELD.

SANDISFIELD: ITS PAST.

In the settlement and growth of our county, certain localities have fallen into decadence. This fact is especially true of the New England towns. Many of these towns, once thickly inhabited, prosperous in business and possessing flourishing educational and religious institutions, have greatly deteriorated. One of the saddest illustrations of this fact, is the town of Sandisfield, Berkshire Co., Mass.

The original territory of this town was called No. 3, and incorporated March 6th, 1762. Southfield, a tract containing 11,000 acres, incorporated as a district June 19th, 1797, was annexed to the original territory Feb. 8th, 1819. Another tract, a part of East Otis, unincorporated, was annexed April 9th, 1838. A portion of the boundary line between this town and Tolland was defined March 4th, 1853. A small portion of the town was annexed to Monterey April 24th, 1875.

The old Indian trail—known by the first settlers as the Albany Road, passed through the extreme northern part of the town. The settlement of the town commenced in 1750. The Colonial and National censuses show the rapidity with which the town was settled. In 1765 there were 409 inhabitants; in 1776, 1,044; in 1790, 1,742; in 1800, 1,857. In 1765 the town was the tenth largest, as to population, in the county; in 1776, the sixth; in 1790, the sixth; in 1800, the fourth. At the later date, Pittsfield's excess of population over Sandisfield's, was only 408; Williamstown's, 229; Sheffield's, 193. But Sheffield's excess would have been more had it not ceded territory to other towns. From 1765 to 1800 Sandisfield gained more inhabitants than any other Berkshire town except Pittsfield, whose excess of gain over Sandisfield's was only 385.

But when we consider that Sheffield, Great Barrington, Stockbridge and a few other towns lost considerable territory during this period, the above statement should be modified by saying, that Sandisfield was one of the five or six towns that were the most rapidly settled. In 1800 Sandisfield was at its height of population.

The settlers were of genuine Puritan stock. A few families were of Huguenot origin. The majority came from near Plymouth, Mass., and from near Wethersfield and New Haven, Ct. A few scattering families came from other parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Many of these settlers, and probably the majority, were descendants of the first settlers of Massachusetts. As to natural talents, intelligence, moral principles and general characteristics, they were typical Puritans. They were a brainy people, and strong in all those elements and forces that produce civil liberty and an evangelical church.

Among the most prominent families that lived in Sandisfield 75 and 100 years ago, I notice the names of Mills, Hall, Robinson, Bosworth, Wolcot, Agrault, Sears, Allen, Brown, Kilbourne, Smith, Hull, Deming, Barker, Hawley, Jones and Sage.

Before the days of rail roads population and business were more evenly spread over the country than now. Then, these country towns and cities were less divergent than now, in regard to their various institutions. Then, generally speaking, every parsonage was a theological seminary, every doctor's office a medical school; every law office, a law school; every home, a manufactory; every farm, a little empire, that sought to be independent in the necessities of life and the raw materials for many kinds of manufacturing. This state of things was especially true of Sandisfield in its earliest days. Then, it had a full supply of ministers, doctors, lawyers, public school teachers, merchants, manufacturers, artisans, farmers and laborers. There was no lack of men of ability and character to act as leaders in all town and church affairs. It was greatly enriched with noble families, educated and refined society, and enterprising youth. In those days a hundred couples of repu-

table gentlemen and ladies could easily be called together for a party or dance.

The surface of the town is generally uneven, and some parts are hilly. The soil is naturally rough and stony. Most of the fences are stone walls. In many places boulders and small stones are still thick upon the soil. And yet, the virgin soil was remarkably rich for agricultural purposes. The first settlers rapidly subdued the soil and brought it to a high state of cultivation. The farms were rich, well cultivated, produced large crops, and were readily sold. The Kilbourne farm, at the Centre, was one of the most valuable farms in Southern Berkshire and supported from 50 to 60 cows. The farmers, as was customary throughout the country before the days of rail roads, raised their own grain and meat, and a great variety of other products, such as were needed for home consumption. Large quantities of flax were raised,—so much, that two oil mills were in operation at the same time. One of the millstones can now be seen near Dea. J. H. Whitney's. The maple tree grows spontaneously all over the town, and large quantities of maple sugar were made. The town was noted for making more sugar in a season than any other town in the state. The soil is especially adapted for the raising of grass. The pastures were generally free from brush, and feed grew luxuriantly. White clover abounded in some places. From the mow lands large burdens of hay were cut. Consequently the first inhabitants raised stock as a specialty; and soon after the beginning of the present century, through the influence of the Hulls, the farmers made cheese a specialty.

From the first settlement of the town to its rapid decline, it contained a variety of manufacturing interests. Sometime during this prosperous period, there were cloth dressers, carders, cabinet makers, scythe makers, wheelwrights, wagon makers, harness makers, shoe makers, candlestick makers, hatters and coopers. There were saw mills and grist mills; rake factories; shops for turning wooden ware; a silk mill, a woolen mill, and six tanneries, three of which were large, and one was very large. The Farmington river that forms the eastern boundery of the town, furnishes excellent water power, and this power has been

greatly increased by the creation of the Otis reservoir. The grade of this river is so low and the current so swift, that the water can be used many times over, in passing through the town. Many shops and mills have been built on this stream, from time to time, but its power has never been fully utilized. Clam river and Buck brook also furnish considerable water power, but this power might be increased by the building of reservoirs, which has been and might still be done.

The trade of the town was on a par with its agriculture and manufacturing. There were stores in New Boston and Montville, and for a long time four in the Centre, the largest being the famous Hull store, that was kept by father and son 62 years. A large business was done at this store. It contained for sale the tools and raw material for the artisans and manufacturers, and everything else likely to be called for, from a pin to New England rum. At one time these stores took in in one season a hundred tons of cheese, the larger part being received at the Hull store. This cheese was freighted to Hudson, N. Y., and Hartford, Ct. Trade in the other villages was correspondingly flourishing. In those days the trade of the town, for the most part, staid at home, where there was a ready and convenient exchange. The tanneries were a great help to the merchants, for the employees numbered many families; and to the farmers, for they made a market for bark, hides and products for the employees.

Sandisfield was a wealthy town. The flourishing condition of agriculture and manufacturing, the securing of trade from other towns, and the business capacity of the people, furnished a basis for this wealth. In 1769 the colonial tax was the fifth largest in the County, while the census of 1765 was the tenth largest. In 1770 the tax was the fourth largest; in 1774, the seventh; in 1775-8, the sixth, while the census during the Revolutionary period was the sixth largest. In the early days people came from Pittsfield, Lenox, Lee and other places to Sandisfield to borrow money. And Sandisfield gave Pittsfield \$300.00 to help build its meeting house. For more than seventy-five years the merchants did a thriving business, and the farmers were thrifty and forehanded.

Before the days of rail roads Sandisfield was a centre for Southeastern Berkshire and adjoining towns in Connecticut and Hampden County. There was a stage route that ran from Hartford, Ct., to Albany, N. Y., through Sandisfield, with a branch from the latter place to Pittsfield. The coaches were drawn by four horses. There was another route that ran from Springfield to Sheffield through Sandisfield. The termini of this route have been changed at various times. The eastern terminus is now Westfield and the western was once Sandisfield and now Tolland. On these turnpikes, over which the stages ran, there were toll gates and plenty of hotels. Sandisfield and certain other towns formed a military district. The wide street at the Centre was the parade ground for the militia. Many interesting stories are told of what took place on training days. There were sham fights and some that were not sham. If any one went thirsty on those days it was his own fault. The arsenal of the district was kept here. Trade came from other towns to Sandisfield to a certain extent. For many years the town was the centre of the cheese market for several towns. Cheese came here from Blandford, North Becket, and from Colebrook, Ct. The town was also supplied with professional men, that tended to make it a centre. There were in 1829, according to the Rev. Levi White, nine physicians and three lawyers. From 1800 to March 6th, 1807, there was a lawyer by the name of Ephraim Judson. Mr. Eliakin Hull and Squire Canfield commenced a petty law suit. The dollars involved were few, but enough to quarrel over. Mr. Hull engaged Mr. Judson as his counsel. Squire Canfield came to Mr. Judson also to engage him as his counsel, but was too late. But Mr. Judson told Squire Canfield that he could secure competent counsel at Lenox, and that he would give him a letter of introduction to one. This he did. Squire Canfield took the letter, mounted his horse and proceeded towards Lenox. On arriving at Lee, his curiosity prompted him to open the letter and read it. The letter read as follows: "Two fat geese; you pluck one, and I will pluck the other." Squire Canfield turned his horse immediately towards home. Proceeding directly to Mr. Hull's, he showed him the letter and told him

all the circumstances about it. The two contestants shook hands, dropped the suit, and ever afterwards were fast friends.

Before the great temperance revival, started by such leaders as Dr. Beecher, and promoted by such reformers as Gough, a wave of intemperance had engulfed New England and other states. Sandisfield did not escape the evils of this terrible vice. The town produced large quantities of apples; and every section was supplied with a distillery. At one time there were thirteen distilleries in the town. Rum and other liquors were sold at the hotels and stores. Lieut. Gov. Hull, in 1854, thus wrote: "The whole range of our customers, including the aged minister, indulged liberally in the rations of strong drink, customary in the camp, where the elders at least had served. And it has always been a special subject of wonder to me, that the whole generation did not settle into confirmed toppers; but though hard and constant drinkers, many escaped. But the liquor bill in every account bore a large proportion of the whole. How glorious the change!" The aged minister referred to, was the Rev. Levi White, who was in the habit of purchasing his liquor by the quart.

But the half century from 1790 to 1840, that might be called the rum period, was the time of Sandisfield's greatest prosperity. As to population, wealth, business, the possession of able and influential men, revivals of religion and church prosperity, the town was at its height. The explanation of this paradox, I leave to the philosopher. It should be noticed however, that this prosperity was not the result of intemperance, but existed in spite of it. "Where the Lord builds a church, the devil builds a chapel." Total abstinence would have added greatly to the prosperity of the people in every respect. According to Lieut. Gov. Hull, intemperance was a curse to the people; and the temperance reformation, though imperfect, he declared a glorious change. It is the testimony of the oldest inhabitants, that in those times many were constant drinkers, that seldom, or never became intoxicated. And if a church member became intoxicated, he was disciplined.

The first inhabitants established the common district school, and a high school that was sustained for a while. But within

the memory of the oldest inhabitants, the only school in the town, has been the district school, except an occasional select school; and it has been customary for those students who wished to obtain a liberal education or go beyond the district school, to attend some high school or academy out of town. In 1808 or 10, a library association was organized. This association procured a library for public use. This library contained 350 volumes, all of which were solid works,—history, biography, theology, science, travels, etc. There was another library of the same size at New Boston. These libraries were extensively read; and when they were opened, the people came from all parts of the town to exchange books. They lasted about forty years.

The first church, Congregational, was organized Feb. 24th, 1756. The next year a church edifice was erected, that lasted until 1796, when it gave way to the second edifice. This building was large, and literally founded upon a rock in the middle of the wide street. The third and present edifice was erected in 1852.

The Baptists organized a church Aug. 21st, 1779. The church edifice was built in 1802, situated in the northwestern part of the town. They organized the second church April 25th, 1788; the church edifice being near the town line in West Otis. About sixty years ago the two churches were united at Montville.

Rev. Cornelius Jones was installed as the first pastor of the Centre church, at the time the church was organized. President Edwards was the moderator of the council and preached the sermon. Mr. Jones' pastorate was very short, and he was followed by different supplies until 1766, when Rev. Eleazer Stores was installed. Mr. Stores was an able man and a successful pastor. But on account of his sympathy with the Shay's rebellion, he was forced from his pastorate in 1797. He continued to live in Sandisfield, where he died and was buried. The Rev. Levi White was pastor from June 28th, 1798, to March 1st, 1832. He was dignified and gentlemanly in manner, an able preacher and a devoted Christian. During his pastorate there were repeated seasons of revival interest.

In 1815-16 there was a revival of great power, in which 200 or more were converted, 140 joining the Congregational church and others the Baptist. In 1829 Mr. White wrote a brief history of Sandisfield for Field's history of Berkshire County. At this time his church contained over 200 members. He was settled for life, but when old and patriarchal in appearance, a faction in the church turned against him. The final result was that he was bought off for \$766.00 and a subscription of \$300.00, and his salary of \$400.00 for the last year was also paid.

Rev. P. T. Holley was pastor from the fall of 1832 to 1851. Mr. Holley was a scholarly man. He prepared and published an excellent concordance, copies of which are now in existence. He was a spiritual man, filled with the evangelical spirit. Mrs. Holley was a woman of remarkable ability and an excellent singer. It was a remark sometimes made, that she was the abler of the two, and wrote her husband's sermons. Mr. Holley was capable of preparing his own sermons, but no doubt his wife was a great help to him in his work. During this pastorate unity and harmony prevailed, and the church was in a high spiritual condition. There were special seasons of revival, and members were added to the church every year. In the fall of 1883 Mr. Holley came to Sandisfield and was given a warm reception in the church by the people of the town. A few months after this he died.

The next pastor was the Rev. Aaron Pickett, a native of the town. He was settled Jan. 23d, 1851, and died Jan. 10th, 1866. He was an able man, an excellent preacher, and thoroughly orthodox in theology. His wit and sarcasm occasionally appeared in his sermons against the foibles of the people and unorthodox creeds. He was noted for his genial spirit and social qualities. When he was in any gathering of the people he was in the habit of shaking hands with every body as often as he met them. When he shook hands with any one and was reminded that he had shaken hands before with the same, he would say: "I want to shake hands every time I come around." When he happened to call on a family about meal time, he would say: "Now don't make any fuss for me; but put two or three more potatoes into the pot." He was a pastor greatly

beloved ; and is held by all who knew him in sweet remembrance. During his pastorate 126 were added to the church.

Thus it appears that the Centre church had only four pastors from 1766 to 1866, except the short candidating periods.

The first pastor of the 1st Baptist church was Rev. Joshua Morse. He was settled October 2d, 1779, and dismissed July 26th, 1795. During his pastorate 101 members united with the church. Rev. Jesse Hartwell was pastor from 1800 to 1827, during which time 177 members united with the church. The first pastor of the 2d church was Rev. Benj. Baldwin. He was pastor from June 9th, 1790, to July 24th, 1810, during which time 211 members joined the church. From this time to 1816, the pulpit was supplied by Revs. John Hastings and Asa Talmadge. June 19th, 1817, Rev. Israel Keach was settled, during whose pastorate the church was brought up to a membership of 200. Mr. Keach was followed for 4 or 5 years by Rev. Erastus Doty. In 1829 the two churches united in the pastorate of Rev. Henry C. Skinner. During his successor Rev. John Wilder, the two churches were consolidated, their church edifice being situated in Montville. From this time to 1863 the following pastors served the church: Revs. James Squire, John Bigby, J. Torry Smith, Thomas G. Wright, J. L. Barlow, J. T. Jones and J. V. Lintel. These churches shared in the great and frequent revivals that swept through the parishes.

In 1837 the Episcopalians organized a church at New Boston ; and in 1840 erected a church building. They supported preaching for only a short time, possibly five years. The church building now stands, having been moved a short distance, and is now used in the basement for a shop and in the upper room for a hall.

At times the Methodists and Advents held services at South Sandisfield. But for several years there has been only an occasional service there.

Up to 25 or 30 years ago the Congregational and Baptist churches were flourishing. They had, as a rule, able and devoted pastors, and repeated seasons of revival interest. Their audiences on the Sabbath filled the churches. Their discipline

was strict. There was no lack of able and reliable men to manage church and society affairs ; nor was there any difficulty in raising the pastors' salaries. The people came to church from all parts of the town in long processions, never minding the distances ; though some came 5, 6, and even 7 miles.

These churches with a few individual exceptions, have always been true to Puritanic principles, and never have been seriously effected by any so called liberal movement. Still there have been individuals of all creeds in the town. In 1853 the Spiritualists obtained a strong hold, numbering about 100 persons, with others inclined that way. They were accustomed to hold frequent meetings, led by outside or home talent. These meetings were largely attended, many coming from adjoining towns. In 1876 they formed an organization. This movement embraced many leading citizens and families.

Sandisfield has furnished for business and the learned professions many prominent men. The most noticeable are the Rev. Barnes Sears, D. D., L. L. D. ; Rev. Edmond H. Sears, D. D. ; Jonathan Cowdery, an eminent surgeon in the United States navy ; John Mills, lawyer, State Senator, and candidate for the United States Senate ; Rev. Edward G. Sears, editor ; Hon. Erastus D. Beach, for several years democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts ; Gen. Dwight May, lawyer, and Lieutenant Governor of Michigan ; Giles Spring, Judge of Supreme court of Illinois. The late Hon. Elizer Smith of Lee, was born in Sandisfield. Mr. Smith went into business and failed. But he afterwards was prosperous, gained a large fortune, and paid all his old debts, principal and interest. He instructed the counsel of his company to be honest and not claim any thing that did not belong to them. It is possible for a business man and a politician to be a Christian. Mr. O. D. Case, of Hartford, Ct., whose shop for manufacturing patent school desks is in Sandisfield, is a native of this town. The most distinguished soldier of the Revolutionary war from Berkshire County, was Col. John Brown. Col. Brown was from Sandisfield, but he could not have been born here in 1744, as it is asserted in his biographies, for the first settlers did not arrive until 1750. Col. Brown married a daughter

of Elisha Kilbourne; and a sister of his was the mother-in-law of Lieut. Gov. Hull. Ephraim Judson from Sheffield, Daniel B. Curtis from Granville, Benjamin Sheldon from New Marlboro, and Thomas Twining from Granville, now Tolland, all graduates of Williams college, practiced law in Sandisfield. Rev. Daniel C. Adams, Rev. Wm. C. White and teacher Henry White, sons of Rev. L. White, Rev. Samuel C. Wilcox, Prof. John F. Allen, and Judge Wm. P. Strickland, all graduates of Williams college, were born in Sandisfield. Other natives of the town were Rev. Aaron Pickett, an able and beloved pastor; J. Milton Sears and Geo. A. Shepard, two of Sandisfield's most useful and respected citizens; Lieut. Burton D. Deming, a gallant Union soldier of the civil war; Edwin C. Burt and Edward D. Burt, large shoe manufacturers of New York, and dealers in the same. Hon. Orlo Burt, born in Tolland, spent most of his life in Sandisfield. He was a tanner. He was twice elected to the State Senate, and twice to the House of Representatives. He was the first revenue assessor of the 10th Massachusetts District during the Civil war. Josiah Wolcott was a General of the militia and prominent in town affairs. Elisha Kilbourne was married in Weathersfield, Ct., to Sarah Robbins, June 7th, 1748. He died in Sandisfield February, 23d, 1813, aged 89. Five sons of Elisha Kilbourne enlisted in the Continental army, went through the Revolutionary war, and all came home to Sandisfield alive.

CAUSES OF SANDISFIELD'S DECADENCE.

The first settlers of New England landed on the Atlantic shore with their faces turned westward. Before leaving the old country they had taken the "Western Fever," another name for a divine impulse, executing a divine decree, that the best blood of the old world should be the basis of the civilization of the new. No sooner had emigration reached the New England shore, than it began to flow westward. At first the west was the Connecticut river; then the hill country of Western Massachusetts and Connecticut; then New York state; then the Western Reserve, and finally the regions beyond. This movement greatly effected Sandisfield. For nearly a

hundred years these streams of emigration have been draining Sandisfield of its population, the emigrants consisting mostly of the cream. One stream has been flowing westward. Individuals and families went to York State, and the Western Reserve. To the latter region several families went in a body and settled in the same locality. Others have scattered over the entire west. The second stream has been flowing into the cities and large places of the east, where business has been concentrating and larger opportunities for gaining wealth and high positions exist. Scores and hundreds of enterprising men and women of all ages, have gone to such places as Springfield, Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport. The third stream, consisting of educated men and women, has scattered everywhere, into all the learned professions. These streams of the town's best blood were flowing out during the years of its greatest prosperity, but did not very seriously effect the number and character of the inhabitants until about 1855 or 1860. From 1800 to 1860 the censuses were as follows: In 1800, 1857; in 1810, 1795; in 1820, 1646; in 1830, 1655; in 1840, 1464; in 1850, 1649; in 1855, 1615; in 1860, 1585. From 1820 to 1855 the loss was only 31; and from 1800 to 1860 only 272. In 1860 the census was the eleventh largest in the county. This slight loss in population after such a long and constant flow of emigration can be accounted for, in part, from the fact that families moved into town from neighboring towns, and principally from the fact that the town was noted for its large families of children. Six and eight were common numbers for a family of children; and in some families there were as many as ten or twelve, and even fifteen. One doctrine in the Puritan creed was that the Lord's command to our first parents, "Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it," was intended to apply to the *highest* classes of civilization, as well as to the *lowest*. The obeying of this law by our fathers has rendered inestimable service to our country in building new states on solid foundations; but that this law be obeyed now is just as important, in order that these states may be saved. Before 1860 certain of the old industries had dis-

appeared. The silk mill, the woolen mill and three of the tanneries disappeared. Nevertheless, at this time, production and trade were flourishing. The churches were strong and prosperous. And the town was well supplied with able men and noble families. But since 1860 Sandisfield's decline has been precipitate. The process of skimming the cream has gone on with continually increasing thoroughness.

The town is in the centre of a parallelogram, formed by four rail roads,—the Boston & Albany on the north, the Housatonic on the west, the Connecticut Western on the south, and the Northampton & New Haven on the east. Its centre is fifteen miles from Great Barrington; fifteen from Winsted, Ct., sixteen from Lee, and twenty-four from Westfield. This great distance from rail roads and large places has worked to the town's disadvantage, especially in drawing away manufacturing, and through that laborers and trade. The farmers also lack a good home market for their produce. And it is hard to induce outsiders to move in. Western competition and the general depression in agriculture, and all those causes that have so generally effected the New England farmer for ill, and tended to draw business and population into large cities, have operated seriously in Sandisfield. Another cause of Sandisfield's decline was the bonding of the town to pay for stock in the projected Lee & New Haven rail road. The town agreed to take \$40,000 of stock, and to bond the town for that amount. The bonds were to be issued as fast as the road was being built. The bonding commenced in 1872. After \$24,000 of stock had actually been paid for, by the issuing of bonds to that amount, two thousand dollars in addition being spent for contingent expenses, work on the road ceased, through the failure of the state in fulfilling its contract in subsidizing the road, the bill for the last instalment of state aid having been vetoed by the governor. The result was that the town was left without any rail road, but with a bonded debt of \$24,000 at 7 per cent., due semi-annually. This tax, with its heavy war taxes, was more than the town could stagger under. It created a sort of a panic. To pay their taxes, many were obliged to sell their hay, cut off their wood and timber, and resort to every possible

expedient to raise the money. Rather than to suffer this burden long, many sold their farms and stampeded out of town. From 1870 to 1875 the town lost 310 inhabitants. This bonded debt lasted ten years, and then was reimbursed by the state. When the bonds were paid up and returned to the town, they were committed to the flames in open town meeting with great rejoicing and applause. The censuses from 1860 were as follows: In 1865, 1411; in 1870, 1482; in 1875, 1172; in 1880, 1107; in 1885, 1019; in 1890, 807.

These causes of Sandisfield's decline have been working so long, and become so effectual in drawing away the inhabitants and business, and reducing the value of all the institutions, that the people for a long time have been greatly depressed as to the town's future prospects. This depression has produced a general desire on the part of the people remaining, to go elsewhere; and many who will spend their days in their native town, would have moved away ere this could they have disposed of their property advantageously.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SANDISFIELD.

The present condition of Sandisfield is what is left after more than seventy-five years of skinning the cream. The census of 1890 was 1,050 less than what it was in 1800, when the town was at its height of population. Other towns in Western Massachusetts have lost more inhabitants than Sandisfield. But the majority of these have ceded territory to other towns since they were at the height of their population, while Sandisfield has annexed one-third of her's. Taking these facts into consideration, it is reasonably certain that the original territory of Sandisfield has met with a greater net loss of inhabitants than the original territory of any other town in the four western counties of Massachusetts, with only one possible exception. The Berkshire towns standing with Sandisfield in regard to loss of population, are Peru, New Marlboro, Becket and Lanesboro. Sheffield has lost nearly 30 per cent. since 1850.

Sandisfield's valuation in 1887 was \$397,922. Since then the valuation has grown less and less every year, at an average

rate of over \$8,500, being in 1893 \$346,848. Its rank of population among Berkshire towns at the various censuses, has been as follows: In 1765, the tenth; then the sixth; the sixth; the fourth in 1800; the fifth; the seventh; the eighth; the tenth; the tenth; the tenth; the eleventh; the thirteenth; the thirteenth; the sixteenth; the eighteenth; the sixteenth; the nineteenth in 1890, there being thirty-two towns in the county at the present time.

This loss of population and valuation does not cover the whole ground of loss. The town's greatest loss is that of intellectual talent, energy, business capacity, influential men, moral and religious influence.

Within the last twenty-five years the town has lost Lieut. Gov. Hull, J. Milton Sears, Geo. A. Shepard and others, leaders in church or political affairs. The general tendency has been for the most promising youth and the most desirable families to go away. During the past ten years many valuable citizens in, and out of the churches, have died. In the town meetings, in business, in the churches and ecclesiastical societies, in every form or organization society takes, the loss of leaders and influential persons is clearly seen and seriously felt.

It is not to be inferred that there is no cream left, for there is. There are still in the town worthy men, excellent families and promising youth. But these elements of the town's former prosperity have been greatly reduced and weakened.

This loss of population has had a corresponding effect upon the condition of agriculture. The census of 1885 gives the number of unoccupied dwellings in the town as 36, which is 13 per cent. of the whole number. From 1885 to 1890 the town lost 212 inhabitants, and the number is less now than in 1890. Consequently the number of unoccupied dwellings cannot be any less than in 1885, and they appear to be more numerous than then.

Old cellar holes are scattered all over the town, and are especially numerous in and about the Centre parish. Most of these unoccupied dwellings and cellar holes belong to farms. These abandoned farms are owned in part by non-residents, and a part are owned by those who live in town. Most of these

farms are pastured and mowed with little or no cultivation or manuring. There are good farmers in Sandisfield, and a few farms are well cultivated and produce good crops. But most farmers possess more land than they can, or do thoroughly cultivate. Consequently much tillage and pasture land is growing up to brush or timber and going back to its primeval condition. Hundreds of acres have already grown up to hardhacks and are nearly worthless. This state of things is most visible between Montville and the New Marlboro line. The price of real estate is very low. But little grain is raised in the town, but much is bought every year. Farmers buy it to feed their teams and cows. Outside of the dairy business the agricultural products are inconsequential. Many of the maple orchards have been cut down. These and much other wood have been sold to the Barnum & Richardson Company, who have converted it into coal and carried it to their iron mines in Connecticut. It does not appear that the soil is exhausted to a fatal degree. Alders and hardhacks do not grow so thriftily on poor land. Much of the soil is still rich and deep, but its deteriorated condition is mainly due to a lack of cultivation. The loss of nearly 60 per cent. of the inhabitants accounts very largely for the present condition of the farms.

As the soil is especially adapted to grass, dairy products are the most abundant and profitable. In the spring of 1887 a creamery association was incorporated that immediately put a creamery into active operation. This creamery has been a success. It relieves the farmers' wives of the burden of making butter, encourages cleanliness in producing cream, enables those who were poor butter makers under the old system to get the same price for their butter as all the other patrons, and cheers the patrons every month with cash in hand for their butter. The patrons number fifty-five, about one-quarter of whom live in Tolland or Colebrook, Ct. In 1892, 96,000 pounds of butter were made. This year, 1893, the product is from 6,000 to 10,000 pounds per month. Henry M. Wilcox is president.

In 1892 an agricultural society was organized and a Fair held at New Boston. A little stock was exhibited and a large number of people came together to see what it all meant. This

year, 1893, a Fair was held September 21st, at New Boston. There were fifty-two yokes of excellent oxen on exhibition and some other stock. The ladies' department of fancy work was a surprising success. Exercises were held in the church, where Dea. Bidwell of Monterey delivered an address. Hundreds of people from Sandisfield and adjoining towns were present at the Fair. Henry M. Wilcox was president.

From the chairman of the board of assessors I get the following statement :

"Decline in valuation for 1893: Real estate, \$1,782; personal property, \$5,810; total \$7,592.

STOCK LISTED	1892.	1893.
Number of horses,	248	253
" " cows,	796	761
" " sheep,	258	261
Neat cattle, other than cows,	417	337
Number of swine,	70	89
" " fowls,	1,769	1,845
" " dwelling houses,		258
Acres of land assessed,		29,625
Rate of taxation,	\$14.60	\$17.50
New bridges built this year (1893) added much to the rate."		

The report of the assessors to the Secretary of State as to the causes of the decline in valuation is as follows:

"Removals West. The younger portion of the community gets into larger places to secure the larger and usually steady wages which manufactures are enabled to pay, being better protected than farmers.

Unequal and unjust taxation. As the law now is, a doctor, lawyer, bookkeeper and skilled mechanic may have an annual income of \$2,000, and still pay nothing but a poll tax. A farmer having the same income from his farm, would pay at least \$200. in taxes. Owners of stocks, bonds, Western mortgages, etc., go scott free, while the farmer is almost sure to be taxed for more than his property would sell for, in the hill towns at least."

The assessors' books show that in 1870 the number of cows were 1,129; in 1871, 1,070; in 1872, 1,033; in 1881, 728; in 1890, 839; in 1891, 817.

At the town meeting in 1893 the town was nearly out of debt, considering the uncollected taxes. But the damage done to the bridges and roads in the spring by the ice caused the town to run a little into debt.

There are thirteen school districts and nine school houses in the town, five of which have patent school desks.

I take the following from the report of the school committee in 1893 :

Number of schools,	9
“ “ persons between five and fifteen years of age,	160
“ “ “ “ eight and fourteen years of age,	107
“ “ different pupils of all ages,	161
“ under five years of age,	8
“ over fifteen years of age,	17
Average membership in all the schools during the year,	120
“ attendance “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	104
Number attending between 8 and 14,	105
Per cent. of attendance,	87
Number of male teachers employed,	4
“ “ female “ “	8
Average wages of male teachers per month,	\$20.50
“ “ “ female “ “ “	\$20.81
Aggregate in months all the schools have been kept during the year, 63 months, 3 days.	
Average number of months the schools have been kept,	7
Amount raised for schools by the town,	\$1,000.00
“ “ “ repairs,	50.00
“ “ “ books,	25.00
“ “ “ carrying children to school,	50.00
“ “ “ state fund,	387.20
“ “ “ dog fund,	69.40
“ “ “ local fund,	77.40
Balance of last year unexpended,	349.79
Total,	<hr/> \$2,008.79

New Boston is a village of about twenty-five families. It contains, also, a Congregational church, a hotel, a post-office and a school house. There are two stores of general merchandise, one kept by H. M. Wilcox and the other by E. O. Northway. W. N. Clark makes cigars and keeps Yankee notions for sale. Joseph Clark & Son make boxes. There is a blacksmith shop and a saw mill. There is a stage and post route from here to Winsted, Ct., with a branch to Montville. There is a daily mail. Dr. E. H. Callender is the physician.

Roosterville, one and one half miles below New Boston, contains six or eight families. Here O. D. Case & Co., of Hartford, make the wood work of their patent school desks.

They employ a dozen hands and are unable to fill their orders promptly, as the demand for the desks is great. The lumber used is birch, beech and maple, which are abundant in the vicinity.

Below Roosterville Mr. E. B. Fargo has a shingle mill, connected with which is a cider mill and one run of stone for grinding grain. There are two other saw mills in town not before mentioned.

West New Boston contains ten or twelve families, the town hall, the creamery, a blacksmith shop and a school house. There is also a mill for the distillation of essential oils. This mill is in operation only from November 1st to June, as the extract is not good after the buds begin to swell. Five hands are employed. Black birch trees are cut, and the brush up to a certain size is drawn to the mill and sold by the ton. This business amounts to six (\$6,000) thousand dollars per year.

Montville, 3 miles from New Boston and one from the Centre, contains about twenty-five dwellings, nearly all of which are occupied. There is also a Baptist church, a blacksmith and repair shop, and a post-office. Mr. J. H. Merrill makes ready made clothing, employing one cutter and a few seamstresses, who take in sewing. Dea. E. A. Whitney makes rakes.

Sandisfield Centre has suffered more than any other part of the town from the loss of population and business. There is left a Congregational church, a school house and nine dwelling houses. The church edifice is in good repair. The school contains six or eight pupils at the most. Two of the dwellings are being repaired. Three dwellings are owned and occupied in the warm weather by city gentlemen, Messrs. E. S. Atwater of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., A. Farrar of Chicago, Ill., and John Doty of New York city. These families have been liberal in the support of preaching and in repairing the meeting house. Messrs. Atwater and Farrar have made a pond covering thirty-five acres, and situated a mile from the Centre. This pond is used for fishing, boating, bathing and the cutting of ice. On the shore the owners have built a new house and barn for the use of the overseer. The Kilbourne farm has been

purchased by H. P. Hall of Boston, who is gradually improving the farm and buildings. The post-office is kept one mile from the church. There is a post and stage route from here to Winsted, Ct., through South Sandisfield and Colebrook, Ct., carrying a daily mail.

The number of families in the Centre is continually changing. Now there are only three permanent families. At South Sandisfield there are a few scattering houses—and a post-office kept in a private family.

All the industries and business not mentioned above have disappeared. The trade of the town has suffered correspondingly. Some trade comes from Tolland, but very much goes to Winsted, Ct., Great Barrington and Lee.

If I mistake not, the original survey of the Boston & Albany R. R. was made through Sandisfield near the old Indian Trail. During the last few years several re-surveys have been made, with a view of a shorter route to Albany or the Poughkeepsie bridge. Rumors that this route, or the one on the Farmington River, was to be graded has often cheered the drooping spirits of the people, to be as often dampened.

The present town officers are: Selectmen, Chas. A. Clafflin, Chas. McCaffrey and F. M. Rugg; assessors, Henry J. Veits, Timothy C. Ryan and Elman Strickland; school committee, Chas. A. Clafflin, Lamatine A. Hawley and Henry J. Veits; treasurer, J. Madison Fuller; clerk, W. N. Clark. Chas. A. Clafflin is deputy sheriff. The postmasters are: Sandisfield, Lamatine A. Hawley; Montville, J. H. Merrill; New Boston, E. O. Northway; South Sandisfield, Mrs. James Smith. The Justices of the Peace are J. Madison Fuller, Chas. K. Williams and H. S. Manley.

Mr. J. Madison Fuller was selectman twenty-two consecutive years, with only one year's break. He was chairman of the board twenty years. On account of his faithful service he was pressed by the voters to serve longer, but he positively refused to do so. He has done a large amount of probate business.

Mr. Henry M. Wilcox represented this district in the legislature twice, in the years of 1875 and 1878. He has been

selectman fifteen years. He has held other town offices and often has been chosen moderator of the town meetings. Mr. Henry Deming, a farmer and a jealous patron of the creamery, has been selectman several years. The selectmen for 1892-3 were Chas. A. Clafflin, Henry Deming and B. J. Persons. Chas. A. Clafflin represented this district in the legislature in 1885.

It would be unjust not to say a few words in this place in memory of the late J. Milton Sears. Mr. Sears was a brother of Rev. Edmond G. Sears, D. D. Mr. Sears possessed excellent intellectual talents and a sound Christian character. He was an active worker in the church and a leader in town affairs. He held various town offices, and his influence was strong in the town meetings. He served one term in the legislature. The last time he ran for office he was defeated. When he was advised to throw out money to influence his election he replied that he had rather be defeated than to do that. He was Justice of the Peace for many years, and as a Justice he did an extensive business in writing legal documents, etc. His ability, experience, knowledge of law, and conscientiousness, made him a safe man to do such business. Consequently he was a man of great influence, highly respected and honored by his fellow citizens. He was a true man. He died August 24th, 1886, aged 77 years.

The loss in population and business has correspondingly effected the churches. About 20 years ago the question of organizing a new church at New Boston or of moving the old meeting house, on the hill, down to Montville or West New Boston, was agitated. One party advocated the new church movement; another, the moving of the old church; and a third party desired no change. After considerable discussion a new church was organized in 1874. It held services at first in the town hall at West New Boston. In 1879 a house of worship was dedicated at New Boston. This church originally was composed of members taken from the Tolland and Sandisfield churches, thus cutting up two small churches to make three smaller ones. Since the formation of this church the town has lost nearly, or quite 400 inhabitants, many of whom

were church people. The wisdom of this movement may well be doubted. The remark is often made that Sandisfield ought to have only one church, and that at Montville. In such matters however, there is danger that our opinions clash with the Lord's. It is the policy of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society to help support only one minister in such towns, and to advise the union of churches of the same and different denominations. The three churches contain about eighty resident members. There are from ten to twenty professing Christians in the town, belonging to churches in other places, or to none at all. There are also twelve or fourteen Catholic families.

The Centre church holds religious services only in the six summer months. The average attendance at the public services for June, July and August of 1893 was fifty-five, and for the two months following, forty. The church is now supplied by the New Marlboro pastor. The churches at New Boston and Montville are now supplied by Chas. H. Couch, a licentiate, who is performing acceptable service. The audiences at New Boston average from seventy to ninety in the summer and about one-third less in the winter. The Montville audience is from forty to seventy-five in the summer, and is a little less in the winter. The combined salaries that the three churches and societies can raise per year, outside of all funds and missionary aid, is at the extreme \$400.

In and about Montville and New Boston, there is a generation of young people of various ages, still remaining in town. Among these young people there has been for several years considerable religious interest, embracing those of both the Congregational and Baptist families. Many have joined the several churches, and the interest continues. To the young pastor and such lay workers as Edward R. Ingham and others, much of the present interest is due. This religious interest among the young people, so long continued and earnest, is a bright and hopeful prophecy of the future. For a long time it has seemed as if the churches must die completely out, as most of the members were old people, fast passing away. But now the signs are a little more hopeful of continued life and increased vigor.

The New Boston church, and the whole community as well, has met with a sad loss in Dea. Nelson B. Twining, who died September 28th, 1893. Dea. Twining was one of the founders and first members of the New Boston church. By labor, prayer and contributions, he manifested his great interest in its prosperity. He was a man of sound Christian character, and his loss is seriously felt. The church need not be discouraged, for with Him, who moves in a mysterious way, nothing is impossible.

The late pastors of the churches were: Sandisfield, Revs. J. Dean, E. Bradbury, A. Sherman, C. B. McLean,—Piper, W. E. Foster, A. W. Field; Montville, Revs. R. H. Maine, A. E. Battelle, G. L. Rüberg, W. Crocker, F. B. Adams, C. H. Kent; New Boston, Revs. E. Bradbury, C. B. McLean, M. S. Hartwell, A. W. Field and Hurd.

The Spiritualists have lost considerably in numbers and leadership, but evidently they maintain their relative strength.

Ever since the Revolutionary war, Sandisfield, has suffered from intemperance, and at times greatly. From way back it has been a license town, and is now three to one. It is an appletown, and large quantities of cider have been drank every year. This habit of cider drinking has been a terrible curse to the town. And many believe that this use of cider has been a greater curse than the use of other liquors. At the present time less cider is made than formerly, and the inhabitants are less in number, consequently less cider is drank. Among the young men now coming into active life, there is an improvement over the past youth, in principle and practice, in regard to temperance, and a few are taking a noble stand for the right.

What will be the future of Sandisfield and such run-down New England towns I cannot prophesy. But it is prophesied in scripture that the old wastes shall be rebuilt. And I believe that the prophecy applies to Puritan New England. But how these towns are to be rebuilt is a hard question to answer. But I venture the opinion, that if they are ever brought up to a high state of prosperity, being filled with a thrifty, intelligent and moral class of people, they must be re-settled by perma-

nent inhabitants,—farmers who will till the soil, pay the taxes and support the institutions. For city gentlemen to buy these old farms and occupy them for only a short time in the summer is a help, and good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Most of these towns as they lack water power, or rail road facilities, or handy raw material, or all of these things combined, cannot expect to compete in manufacturing with the great manufacturing centres of the country. Neither are they needed as manufacturing towns on any large scale.

In preparing this history it has been the sole aim of the historian to tell the truth, and to tell it in such a way as to give a true picture of the real condition of things, however impalatable some of the facts may be. That town, where he spent eight years of his best life, and tried to do his duty, and received so many tokens of regard from the people, has his prayers and best wishes for its future prosperity and salvation.

As to Sandisfield, nature has done her part. As yet, the soil is not seriously exhausted. The water power is abundant. Its scenery is charming. The atmosphere is salubrious. From the hill sides there gush out streams of sweet pure water. And the town lies on two distinct lines of rail road surveys, that would have been graded long ago had it not been for the influence of conflicting interests.

“Come, gentle Hope! with one gay smile remove
The lasting sadness of an aching heart.”

LIFE OF GEO. A. SHEPARD, ESQ.

Mr. Geo. A. Shepard was born in Sandisfield December 23d, 1820. In youth his advantages for education were limited to the common schools. His means did not allow him to go to college. But possessing excellent intellectual talents, and being naturally a scholar, he did not become a victim of his disadvantages. His taste for study and ambition to acquire knowledge made him a hard student all his life. He was a great reader, and was especially fond of historical and scientific works. His close application to study and retentive memory enabled him to acquire a large fund of knowledge. He was

well versed in the current thought of the times, especially in that of science and politics.

Mr. Shepard was a ready and fluent speaker, never lacking thought or words to express it. He was frequently invited to make addresses on various occasions, and he made it a point to except all such invitations. He was occasionally called to make addresses or deliver lectures in other towns, and for many years he was Sandisfield's ready and acceptable speaker.

He was also a poet of no mean ability. On social and other occasions, he was often called out to read a poem, without which the exercises seemed incomplete. While the metre and the rhyme may have been somewhat arbitrary, yet the wit and sentiment of his poems always held close attention and received applause. Whether in prose or poetry, he was equally interesting on a great variety of topics, mingling wit and anecdote with unadorned facts.

His pen was as ready as his speech. For many years he was a newspaper correspondent, contributing to as many as six papers at one time. His reports of topics of general interest were eagerly read by the people. In Smith's history of Berkshire County the articles on Sandisfield and Otis were written by him.

For nearly forty years Mr. Shepard held town and other offices. For several years he was at the same time—school committee, assessor, town clerk, justice of the peace and trial justice. He was school committee thirty-six years; assessor and town clerk seventeen each; trial justice fourteen; and justice of the peace twenty-eight. He ran as a candidate for representative to the legislature four times, and was elected twice, in 1881 and 1888. The last time he was in the legislature he served on the committee on education. It was largely through his influence that the Westfield Normal school was not moved to Springfield and recived appropriations for its new building lately completed. For these services Westfield gave him a dinner to his honor. During this session of 1889 he was called upon to make a speech on women's rights without previous notice, to fill a vacancy caused by the absence of a previously appointed speaker. Whether anticipating speaking

or not, he was ready and made a speech that was very highly commended.

He was chosen sole agent of Sandisfield to go before the legislature, asking the state to reimburse the town in the matter of town bonds. As a school teacher, he taught twenty-five terms of the public school and nine terms of select school. As a justice of the peace, he wrote hundreds of legal papers, such as wills, deeds, etc. Only one will he wrote was contested, and that was sustained. His legible hand writing, knowledge of law, sound judgment and long experience, made him a very competent person to write legal papers.

In politics Mr. Shepard was a republican from the beginning. He was firm in his convictions, having made political questions a constant study. As an aspirant for office, he possessed his share of shrewdness and diplomacy, and was cautious about expressing his opinions too freely when not called to do so, and about taking sides with one or another of party factions. But he did not carry this trait of character so far as to deny his party principles or to stifle his convictions, or to wobble from one side of a question to another, or to stoop to mean and questionable methods to gain his ends. He was a successful politician, without choosing the policy that the end justifies the means.

Mr. Shepard was a farmer by profession, but followed other pursuits temporarily, as clerking, butchering, teaching, and serving in various offices. As a business man, he did not accumulate much wealth. It is uncertain what he would have accumulated had he chosen wealth as his god. But his tastes and ambition flowed in other directions. To read, write, study and occupy positions of trust, was his life. If he neglected too much his personal affairs, it was to serve his fellow citizens and consecrate himself to their welfare.

One of Mr. Shepard's characteristics was his patriotism. He was a great admirer of free institutions; entertained high views of his country's possible greatness and power. In all things pertaining to American institutions and the prospective glory of our country, he was an optimist and an enthusiast. He neglected no opportunity to express his patriotism on all

suitable occasions, and to urge his fellow citizens to exercise patriotic affections. His patriotism with his optimistic tendency, extended down to his native town. When writing or speaking about Sandisfield, he always pleaded her cause, and was loth to admit what others readily confessed.

No man ever lived in Sandisfield who took greater interest in all public affairs than Mr. Shepard. He was interested in every thing that related to the town's welfare, and he was ever ready by word, pen or hand to serve her interests. In the causes of education, agriculture, trade, literary organizations, and social advancement; on fourth of July, Decoration day, and other days of public gathering; in all public enterprises with him it was,—fellow citizens, come on! In all such things he was the acknowledged leader,—considering his own interests inseparable from the town's.

As a companion and a society man, Mr. Shepard was affable in manners, agreeable and witty in conversation, and entertaining. In this position, party differences and theological prejudices were laid aside, while he surrendered himself to social enjoyment. He was a true and sincere friend and agreeable companion. He rarely suffered from enemies.

He was inclined to believe what are called liberal views in theology, and he never made a public profession of religion. But he was a man of strict morals and integrity; went to church; liked a good sermon; condemned meanness and was disgusted with vice. Down deep in his soul there was always a tender spot, easily reached by the right means. On his death bed he confessed Christian principles and hope.

In substance, Mr. Shepard was by his ability, culture and integrity, a very useful man, whose life has not been unappreciated nor unhonored by his fellow citizens. In all social positions, in town meetings, in political counsels, in town and other offices, he was a strong personality. It was not outward helps and favorable opportunities that gave him his development, influence and useful service, but his native ability, tastes, ambition, perseverance and public spirit. He was a fine specimen of a self-made man, and as such, an example worthy

of imitation. He died April 18th, 1893, greatly lamented by all who knew him.

LIFE OF LIEUT. GOV. GEORGE HULL.

Among the first settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were five brothers by the name of Hull. They were all men of ability, and served the Colony in the legislature. Capt. John Hull, one of the five brothers, was the mintmaster who coined the famous pine tree shilling.

Richard Hull, another of the brothers, came to Connecticut and settled near New Haven. In Durby, near New Haven, was born, March 9th, 1775, Commodore Isaac Hull. In this vicinity, in what was then Wallingford, was born Eliakim Hull, a direct descendant of Richard and relative of the Commodore. Eliakim Hull moved to Farmington, Ct., and from there, in 1800, to Sandisfield.

As soon as Mr. Hull settled in Sandisfield he assumed the position of a leader in town affairs. He was large, athletic and handsome, and made a splendid appearance on horse back. In 1800 he established a store. He was a prime mover in the organization of the library association. He was a Justice of the Peace, and did a large business in that office. He was well versed in law, and was well known in Southern Berkshire as a man of ability and influence. He represented the town in the legislature several years, as long as he would take the office. He was nominated and elected without any necessary agency on his part, except to accept the office.

George Hull, son of Eliakim, and the subject of this history, was born in Farmington, Ct., January 8th, 1788, and was therefore twelve years old when the family moved to Sandisfield. At Farmington, George was sent to the district school, and, according to his own statement, he was sent somewhat against his will. In this school he made creditable progress in the ordinary branches. After moving to Sandisfield he never went to school, except to himself and his surrounding circumstances.

As soon as his father had established his store, George being only twelve years old, was taken in as a clerk. The young clerk had a taste for hunting and fishing, but he was kept so closely confined to his clerkship that he seldom got a day off. In those days the majority of the customers were veterans of the Revolutionary war. As many of them spent much of their time idling at the store, they greatly amused the clerk by reciting their adventures and experiences in the army. At the age of twenty-one George was taken into co-partnership with his father, and immediately became the real manager of the business. He went to New York to buy goods, going down the Hudson river on a boat. After his father's death he continued the business at the same stand until 1862. As described in another place, this was a famous store, on account of the great variety of articles kept for sale; its extensive trade; long continuance; and the fact that it contained the post-office, the library, and for many years before the great temperance revival, plenty of spirituous liquors. To all this may be added the facts that its owner was an able business man, a leader in town affairs, and an influential politician.

Mr. Hull was also a farmer. He owned considerable land in and near the Centre, which he brought to a high state of cultivation. The swamp near his store that his father undertook to reclaim, he changed into a smooth, rich meadow, that today, attracts the notice of travellers. It was not his custom to work on the farm himself, except to oversee the work and manage the business part. On going to the farm it was his custom to ride on horseback. Mr. Hull was also a banker. He was the first president of the Lee bank, and as a private banker he did a large business. If a widow or any one else had a little money to invest, he would take it. He also went into the tanning business, that grew into large proportions. As the result of all these businesses that he managed with great ability and industry, when he was able to give his attention to business, he acquired a comfortable fortune for the times. When he spent his time in Boston, he hired clerks to manage his business at home. And when his sons became of suitable age, he took them into business with him.

While a young man Mr. Hull was called to serve the town in various offices. He was town clerk and school committee, and as moderator of the town meetings presided with great dignity and dispatch. He was postmaster from 1811 to 1862. His higher political service I will let him describe in his own language. In a brief autobiography which he wrote in 1854, he says: "After serving in various town offices, it was the will of a party to elect me representative to the Great and General Court (in 1821.) It was much of an undertaking at that time to go to Boston. Representatives had most commonly made the journey on horseback, but I ventured to drive a chaise. And every thing being new to me at the east, I enjoyed the employment much and made some very valuable acquaintances. In the years 1823 and 1824 I was nominated and elected to the senate of the state. As it was the fashion of that day through the state generally to elect gray headed men of mature years and reputed wisdom, I found myself the youngest of the forty senators. Being conscious of my deficiencies of education and accomplishments, I felt considerable diffidence, but before the session was over I managed to recover some degree of confidence from having discovered that through accident and party connivance, several senators had been sent to the senate as ignorant and destitute of polish as myself, and with views quite as crude. After my two terms in the senate had expired, I returned home without any expectation of further experience in such official stations, and applied myself to my business for a support to my growing family. But the party with whom I sympathized and aided, again called on me to represent them in the house of representatives (in 1826), and I spent another term in Boston, being my last as I then supposed. But in 1830 a summons from the secretary of state called on me to proceed to Boston and qualify to take my seat in the Governor's Council—Gov. Lincoln's Council. Who could refuse such an honor? I arranged my business at some inconvenience and hurried off. After performing these services as councillor for the usual space of time and recovering old acquaintances and friendships, I bid adieu, as I supposed, for the last time to public service, and gave my attention to my

neglected business. But it had been decreed that my presence at Boston in another capacity in the year 1835 might subserve the views of the party or its managers, and they presented my name with that of Edward Everett to the public for the two highest offices, Governor and Lieut. Governor. This ticket having succeeded the party managers still kept me in nomination from year to year, and I then served with Everett, Marcus Morton and John Davis, seven years in all, and until I was heartily tired of such service and glad to return to the enjoyment of home and domestic quiet."

Lieut. Gov. Hull ran for congress in 1826, but was defeated. There were three candidates, and I infer there was no election, for an election to fill a vacancy was held in the following March. For Congressman he carried Sandisfield by twenty majority. Lieut. Gov. Hull ran eight consecutive years for Lieut. Governor, and was elected every year except the last. Since the formation of the state constitution only two Lieut. Governors have served in office a longer time than he; two others served the same length of time.

Lieut. Gov. Hull was at first a Republican, or anti-Federalist, the same as his father, but when the Republican and Federal parties broke up and the Democratic and Whig parties were formed, the father became a Jacksonian Democrat, and the son a Whig and finally a Republican. He was not an office seeker, in the sense that he was a party manager, or ran a political machine for selfish purposes; or sought office through questionable means. The office sought him, and he was nominated on the ground of his merits. And yet he was not destitute of political ambition. He was in correspondence with the party managers, and wrote political articles for the newspapers. While he was happy in his domestic relations and his extensive business needed his personal attention, so that he excepted office with reluctance, yet party pressure was so strong, and the honors of office, and the pleasure of living in Boston, where he associated with so many distinguished men, were so great, that he was willing to make the needed sacrifice.

In office, he was held in great esteem and consideration by his political associates. His advice and opinions were sought

after, and in every position which he held he had a commanding influence; not the influence of party management or campaign speaking, for he was not a public speaker, but the influence of common sense, sound judgment, extensive knowledge and strict integrity.

In recommending candidates for appointment to office he based his recommendations solely on merit, and would not recommend his best personal friends if he did not consider them suitable persons for the offices they sought. He was known to refuse such recommendations at the expense of losing friendships. When we consider that he recommended candidates for appointment to office solely on the ground of merit, and that he received his own political nominations on the same ground, his portrait ought to be hung in every legislative hall, and his life read by all office seekers. Nay, more! When we consider the prevalence of boss rule and political intrigue, the people, who are the most to blame in this matter, ought to be converted, and in their sovereign might demand the enforcement of sound civil service principles.

Lieut. Gov. Hull was endowed by nature with superior intellectual talents. But he was emphatically a self-made man, not having attended school after he was twelve years old. He was a hard student all his life, and his own teacher. While a clerk in his father's store, he acquired the habit of reading, that grew into a strong passion. In this way he improved his spare time. He read every book in the library that was kept in his store, and every thing else he could reach,—history, biography, travels, divinity, poetry, science, voyages, etc. When there was a new supply of new books he would sit up nearly all night to read them, in order, as he said, "to secure the treasures of the books before they were distributed among the people." He was fond of reading translations of the classics. And he was so familiar with geography that he could tell the names and positions of the most insignificant places on the maps. He possessed a great memory and took extensive notes of what he read, so that he acquired a large fund of knowledge, and was thoroughly versed on the current topics of the times. He was a busy and hard working business man and

office holder, and yet, in this pressure of business and politics, he found time to do much reading. In this he has set an example worthy of imitation, and shown what a man may do if he has a taste for study, ambition and perseverance.

The fact that he was a self-made man and succeeded in business and politics, cannot be used as a valid argument against a liberal education for business men and politicians. The Greeleys, the Carnegies, the Hulls are the exceptions, on account of their superior natural talents and tastes. Most men are ordinary men in talents and ambition, and consequently need teachers for instruction and discipline, and for this reason constitute the rule. In Lieut. Gov. Hull's writings I think there can be traced evidences of a lack of mental discipline and language culture. Certainly he always regretted his lack of a liberal education.

He was a social man and enjoyed the society of educated and brilliant people. Though rather retiring and modest in manner, yet he was dignified in society and able to sustain his part. By his extensive information, keen wit, and ready repartee, he was an entertaining guest and an agreeable companion. In society and among his political associates he met many distinguished men; men of all parties and of all professions, and with some he formed very close friendships. He left a manuscript containing anecdotes and reminiscences of distinguished men whom he had met. He left also a sheet of paper, on which was written scores of names of persons of the greatest eminence whom he had seen. These names include those of Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, Rufus Choate, Dickins, Bryant and Pres. Hopkins. In the last of his autobiographic manuscript he thus speaks of Gov. Davis: "Honest John Davis, with whom I have spent many pleasant hours in the midst of his family at his own pleasant residence in Worcester, has during the past week, unexpectedly paid the last great debt. No wiser or better man have I found among them all."

In theology, Lieut. Gov. Hull was inclined to what is called liberalism rather than Calvinism. He never joined any church. But he was a man of strict morals and integrity, and enjoyed

the respect of his fellow citizens. People had such confidence in his word and judgment that they often consulted him for advice and his opinions.

He married Sarah Allen, whose mother was a daughter of Elisha Kilbourne, from Wethersfield, Ct. She, in ability and character, was every way worthy of her position. Their children were: Edmond, who married a Miss Deane, of Hartford, Ct.; Cornelia, who married Hon. Alexander Hyde of Lee, son of the Rev. Dr. Hyde; Harriett, who married George Walker, son of Judge Walker of Lenox; Albert, who married Susan M. Holcombe of West Granville, daughter of Dr. Holcombe; George A., who married Maria Freeman of Springfield; Adeline, and Sedgwich Mills, who were never married. Elizabeth H., daughter of Albert, married Geo. A. Stevens of Hartsville, and a daughter of Harriett married the late Gen. S. C. Armstrong.

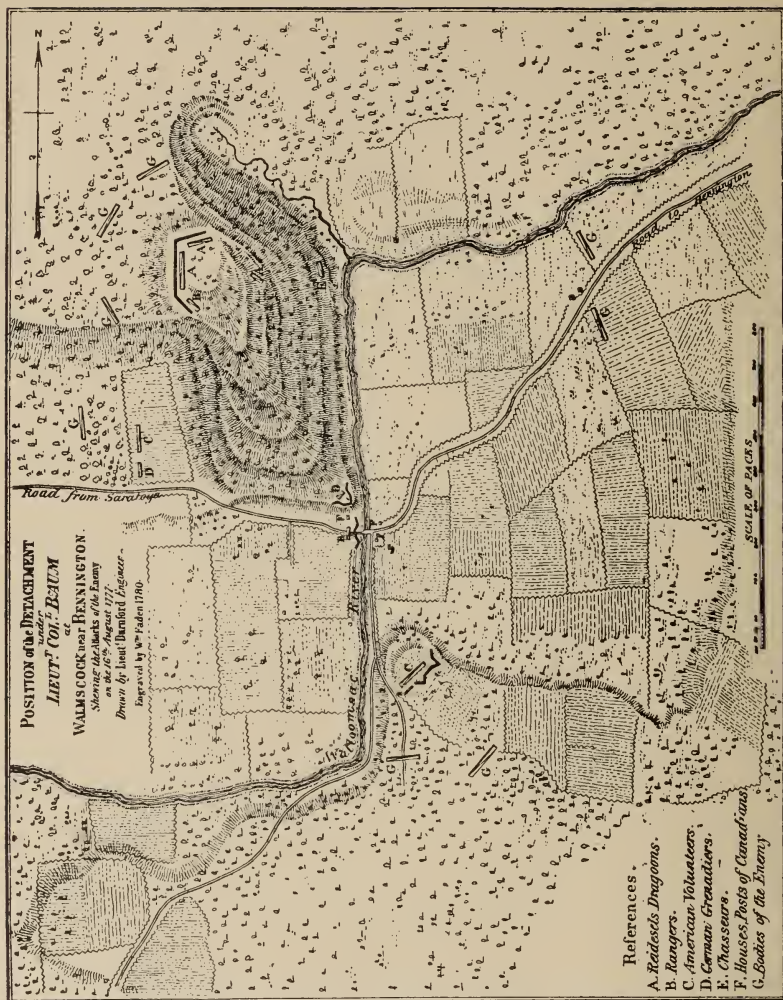
In his old age Lieut. Gov. Hull was overtaken with misfortunes. For nearly ten years before his death he suffered from defective eyesight. This blindness at first was only partial, but it increased until it became nearly total. His thirst for knowledge and habits of reading made this terrible trial doubly severe, but he found some compensation in the fact that members of his family devoted much time in reading to him. In 1862 he was forced into insolvency. When in politics his business suffered more or less from neglect. In 1857 he lost considerably, and when the civil war came on he lost heavily in connection with the tanning business. According to his own statement his failure was caused by forces, over which he had no control. He made an amicable settlement with his creditors and was enabled to retain his pleasant and comfortable home.

From this time the infirmities of old age by degrees crept upon him, and he died Jan 7th, 1868, lacking just one day of his being eighty years of age.

THE
BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

By HENRY D. HALL,

NORTH BENNINGTON, VERMONT.



MAP OF BENNINGTON BATTLE.

See pp. 168-171

The River was by mistake called *Hosad*, and there was no indication of the points of compass, otherwise the above is an exact Copy, reduced of the Map in Burgoyne's State of the Expedition.

The letter press is of course British. For American Volunteers read Tories. "Bodies of the Enemy" means Forces of Gen. Stark "Walmscock" means Walloomsac.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

The attempt of Mr. S. D. Locke in the April, 1892, number of the "National Magazine of American History," to change the long established and accepted facts connected with the Battle of Bennington, is a marked specimen of perseverance in the perversion of history. That those unacquainted with all the facts, who may not have easy access to the history made and noted at the time, or shortly after its happening, may fully understand it, a review of the article at some length may not be inappropriate. While sometimes it may appear to the conservative mind to be too aggressive, considering the long quiet which has reigned between the "Grants and the Yorkers," the excuse is, that the provocation has been given and can only be fairly met by considering some things, that by common consent have for many years been left to rest, and it has been hoped might remain forever in repose. And, though matters may be treated which had better not be, except for the challenge offered and in the interest of a proper understanding of all the facts in their several bearings, still will it be in a spirit of fairness, and with a desire to allay rather than to foster division and prejudice. The endeavor will be before closing, to leave nothing about the story of the battle, but truth relieved of theory and imagination.

The paper begins with stating, that, "much that has been written as history, even by our best equipped writers, is confused with errors or quite false." And, as illustrating his meaning by conspicuous examples, quotes from Bryant's History, and the American Cyclopedia. The vital error among the so styled, "medley of error," in the opinion of Mr. Locke, must be the typographical one, where "at" is put for "near," thus

changing the locality, as it should read near Bennington. For surely he cannot think it much of an error for the victors to be called New Hampshire militia, when Gen. Stark's brigade must have been nearly two-thirds of the army under him, and as he seems very willing at all times to have it understood, that few Vermont or Bennington men had a share in the battle of Bennington, so called in history for one hundred and fifteen years. That "no trace now remains to indicate the precise locality of the engagement" is substantially correct, for there is nothing of the entrenchments or marks of any excavations to show where they were located. It is true the hill in its position and the stream running at its base, are as they were at the time of the battle, but in order to locate as nearly as possible the camp and breastworks of Baum, and the site of the Tory Breastworks, to place markers upon them, a survey was made some ten years ago, "by some enterprising citizens of Bennington," of whom the writer was one, carrying the surveyor's chain up the steep embankment from the river. Fighting was done over ground covering a distance of two or three miles, and all marks of the "precise locality of any engagement," have long since disappeared.

Mr. Locke says, with reference to history being "confused with error," it "seems particularly true of the accounts that come to us as the accepted history of 'Burgoyne's expedition to the left,' including, 'the two battles, one with Baum and one with Breyman,'" and, "the story is plain how Baum's five or six hundred men, (reliable history make them seven or eight hundred) *taken in the rear so that their redoubts counted for nothing*, after a desperate conflict, lasting from three to five o'clock, were beaten by Stark's eighteen to twenty-two hundred militia." It certainly is strange, that the situation of the contending forces is not better understood by those who write about it, and from these intimations, it is not so very wonderful that errors do creep into history, and wrong impressions are often given. Baum was located on a hill with a steep embankment three or four hundred feet high looking to the east, up the road which Stark was expected to advance upon, at the foot of which was the Walloomsac river, making it impossible

for an attack on his front. Having little or no fear of the enemy from that direction, he stationed some Chasseurs at the foot of the hill on the left, where the river turns to the south at nearly a right angle, to guard the approach from the north side if the foe should cross the stream near that point. The "Tory Breastwork" had been erected on his right, sixty or eighty rods to the south east, on rising ground in the direction of Stark's encampment, manned by Peter's Corps of Provincials. Both sides of the road at the bridge at the foot of the hill on the right, between his camp and the Tory Breastworks, had been built lesser fortifications occupied by Canadian Rangers and German Grenadiers, while west on the Sancoick road had been located bodies of men with cannon, as though Stark would advance only from the east, and if he forced these different positions would be met and put to the route before getting to his rear. To make all secure, Baum took another precaution, and built "breastworks of earth and timber" during the day and night of the 15th, looking west or in the rear of his camp, (See Dunford's map) and which would only be of use in case the Americans out-flanked him, and then the works would be in his front, for protection. The skillful Stark out-generated him, and before there had been any movements, observable, but marching and counter marching in his front, "to amuse Baum as Stark said," Colonels Nichols and Herrick, by long marches around either flank, had come up in his rear and joining their forces made the attack. Then, "the redoubts" did count for all that could be expected, but the discipline and the valor of Baum's men could not withstand the courage and impetuosity of the Americans, and they were overpowered. A soldier in the battle, Jesse Field, says, "We pressed forward and as the Hessians rose above their works to fire, we discharged our pieces at them"; and Glick. "The troops lining the breastworks replied to the fire of the Americans with extreme celerity and considerable effect. The Indians alarmed at the prospect of having their retreat cut off, stole away, after their own fashion, in single files, leaving us more than ever exposed, by the abandonment of that angle of the entrenchments which they had been appointed to maintain."

It should not be forgotten in treating this subject, that a feeling had grown out of the difficulties arising from the tenure in which the lands of many of the inhabitants of the "grants" had been held, and the stand taken by New York in regard to them, did engender such a spirit as made them jealous of Vermont's prestige, and indifferent to, or against defending what she felt interested in sustaining. This bias was shown more particularly in the frontier towns, previously, and up to the time when Burgoyne made his "diversion to the left," sending Baum under a command to take Bennington.

It is not the intention to launch out upon imagination and theory, throwing aside established history, as an examination of the "battle of Walloomsac" will evidence has been done, in reference to many incidents of the battle, but to see if Gen. Stark and Bennington, should really be taken into account in the transactions of the memorable 16th of August, 1777. Mr. Locke says, "there was no engagement in Bennington." No well informed person claims there was. It is not supposed there were any of Baum's men in Bennington, except as prisoners of war, as Stark did not intend there should be, and he succeeded in keeping them "at bay," unless in skirmishing on the 14th or 15th, some might have crossed the line separating New York from Vermont. He further says, "there was no retreat of Baum's detachment after his defeat, but it was annihilated." This is only an assertion made to sustain a theory. What say those who were engaged in the affair and would be likely to know more about it? Gen. Stark says, in a letter to the committee of Safety of New Hampshire, two days after the battle, "at sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time." There is no other meaning to this assertion, than that there had been a retreat of the first detachment under Baum. Jesse Field, whom the writer remembers, says in a manuscript statement given Gov. Hiland Hall, author of the "Early History of Vermont," and for years President of the Vermont Historical Society, with reference to the retreat after the first engagement, "I should think I did not continue in the pursuit over half a mile, though some parties went farther." Secretary Fay, of the council of Safety, says in a

letter written August 16th at six o'clock P. M., "Stark is now in an action, * * * The enemy were driven about a mile, but being reinforced, made a second stand, and still continue the conflict." Thomas Mellen, a soldier in the battle, to James Davie Butler, says, "We pursued till we met Breyman with eight hundred fresh troops and larger cannon, which opened a fire of grape shot." Breyman in his letter to Lord George Germain, August 20th, 1777, says, "the Indians made good their retreat from the first affair, as did Capt. Frazer with part of his company, and many of the provincials and Canadians."

Mr. Locke says, "he resides less than one and a half miles from where Breyman was defeated, and has been critically over both fields many times." Others had been over the whole ground scores of years before he contemplated visiting it, or before his birth, to obtain all the facts connected with the movements of the men on both sides, and by them the history of the battle was written years ago. Among these, was the before mentioned Gov. Hiland Hall, who was born in 1795, but eighteen years after the battle was fought, and within less than three miles of the field, and who often visited the memorable ground in company with those who were in the battle, and did not leave the field until the last of Breyman's reinforcements were on their way to the camp of Burgoyne, on the Hudson. Mr. Hall, who made history a study from his childhood, was greatly interested in the war of the revolution, and especially in the trials of the early settlers of the New Hampshire Grants, and no less in the Battle of Bennington, which turned so effectually the tide of British victories. In personal conversation on the battle-field with surviving soldiers, he learned as none others could without such opportunities, the positions of the enemy, and preserved in writing the most important facts of both engagements as reported by the men who took part in them. His understanding and account, though differing much from that of Mr. Locke in reference to these engagements, has been received and quoted for years as worthy of confidence, and in a measure authoritative. A remarkable occasion, and as showing his interest in the revolutionary soldier, he had as guests to dinner, on the 14th of August,

1840, sixty-three years after the battle, at his home, at that time in Bennington Centre, sixteen of the surviving heroes, several of whom were in the battle of Bennington, the eldest being ninety years, and the average of all reaching eighty years.

It will not, perhaps, add weight to these thoughts, to say, the writer of this article lives within a mile of the encampment of Gen. Stark, which he left on the 16th at the head of the New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont troops, mostly militia, including Colonels Warner, Herrick and Brush, as officers, each of Bennington, with many undisciplined men 'tis true, and with reference to whom Mr. Locke, says, "Bennington collected two companies of unorganized militia of about one hundred men in both, but without a man whose name has appeared in the history of the action." Does he mean to cast a sneer upon the fidelity, fame or patriotism of the unnamed in history of the rank and file of Bennington Militia, who risked their lives on that eventful day, and some of whom were carried to their homes after the battle, cold and silent in death? It might not seem generous to think it of him, though the insinuation may, perhaps, warrant such a rendering. But history *does record* the names of "four of Bennington's most respected citizens, who fell on that field of battle: John Fay (son of Stephen), Henry Walbridge (brother of Ebenezer), Daniel Warner (cousin of the Colonel), and Nathan Clark (son of Nathan and brother of Isaac). They were all in the prime of life and all heads of families, leaving widows and children to mourn their sudden bereavement." If the proportion of Bennington men to the whole force under Gen. Stark, was as Mr. Locke seems constrained to make it, then the deaths on the American side, would proportionally have been between eighty and ninety, instead of thirty as it is recorded in history. What better praise could be bestowed on the Bennington heroes than Gen. Stark gave them when he wrote to Gen. Gates August 22d, 1777, saying, "I then marched in company with Colonels Warner, * * * Herrick and Brush, * * * I also sent Colonel Herrick with three hundred men in the rear of their right, * * * in a few minutes the action began in

general, it lasted two hours, the hottest I ever saw in my life, * * * the enemy were obliged to give way. I gave orders to rally again, but in a few moments was informed that there was a large reinforcement, on their march, within two miles. Luckily for us, that moment Col. Warner's regiment (under Lieut. Col. Samuel Safford of Bennington) came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack afresh. * * * I cannot particularize any officers as they all behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery. Col. Warner's superior skill in the action was of extraordinary service to me. I would be glad if he, (a Bennington man), and his men, (some of whom were Bennington men), could be recommended to Congress."

Mr. Locke says, "These engagements at Walloomsac, known in current history as the Battle of Bennington, should be called the battle of Walloomsac," and gives his own views as to what should determine the name for a battle, and the precise place where a monument to perpetuate a victory should be erected to be most appropriate, and hand down to posterity the gallant deeds of the actors, and inspire the noblest impulses for liberty, valor and patriotism. In his voluminous endeavor to answer Hon. B. H. Hall and others, in the *Troy Times* of December 9th, 1891, he makes the statement nearly a score of times, adducing proof which would warrant calling it 'the battle of Sancoik,' 'Baum's defeat,' 'Breyman's disaster' or 'battle of Hoosick,' quite as much as the 'battle of Walloomsac,' but being partial to 'Walloomsac,' he can see no good reason why it should have been called for over a century, 'the battle of Bennington.'" Gordon, in his "*History of the American Revolution*," contemporaneous with the events narrated, published in London in 1788, in his comments upon and description of this battle, never so much as mentions the name "Walloomsac," but speaks of Bennington at least eight times in such ways as follows: "According to information, the Americans had a great deposit of corn, flour and store cattle at Bennington, which were guarded only by militia;" "He therefore entertained the design of surprising the stores at Bennington;" "And signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington;" "The severe check the enemy have met with at Ben-

nington ;” “especially as the disaster at Bennington added to their delay ;” “But the Bennington affair put them in better spirits ;” “After the affair at Bennington,” etc. All this, as though the distinguished Historian had never heard of the river or farm Mr. Locke would now have the battle named after, and who we have no reason to suppose was biased in favor of, or against New York or Vermont. It will be seen by referring to the “map” that Mr. Locke speaks of as “calling the battle field Walmscoik or Walloomsac,” that in order to have it known in what part of North America it was located, “near Bennington” was wisely added, though it was suppressed in his reference to it. Gov. Clinton wrote within a week after Baum and Breyman were discomfited, “Since the *affair at Bennington* not an Indian has been heard of ; the scalping has ceased.”

Mr. Locke adopts a theory “that the name of the place where a battle was fought should be the name of the battle.” Does he forget, when he is claiming so much, that he also says, “the last or decisive engagement when the largest number of the enemy were fighting was at Sancoik,” and Breyman he further says, “went no farther than Sancoik, when he was defeated.” He also says in this connection, “Sancoik was then a little hamlet nearly as large as Bennington.” The last quotation is made that the reader may judge of the candor and ingenuousness exhibited in the efforts to *make* history after so long a lapse of time, by changing well authenticated and established facts. But the number of houses and size of the hamlet, has far less to do with its importance and connection with the battle, in giving it a name, than the influence its stalwart men of brain, nerve and muscle had, who were engaged for years in making the history of the embryo state of Vermont, during the revolutionary period and the difficulties of the early settlers with the state of New York, in its endeavor to eject them from their once paid for lands and homes. The heroism, the self-sacrifice and clear headed common sense shown in their counsels, made them a power, and their conduct on the field, in which capacity, they were so often called to act, not only for themselves and neighbors, but in the interest of

the colonies, added greatly to their prowess and gave them a name through all the land.

But what does give the name to a battle, or has from time immemorial? There has been no fixed rule for their naming, but like the naming of children, circumstances and surroundings govern, and a name suggested by its adaptation to the event meets the views of those concerned, and acquiescence determines it, and then David or Jonathan, Patience or Dorothy, battle of Bennington or Walloomsac, is the proper one, and becomes unchangeable after a period of one hundred and fifteen years. And the location of a monument depends upon the connection of what is to be perpetuated with the circumstances which brought about the event or battle, or what ever may have taken place. Such ever has been the rule, and such undoubtedly always will be, although it does not meet with entire approbation in this case.

In looking at the names given some of the fifteen "Battles," which Prof. Cressey pronounces, "as having had the most decisive influence," what has given them their names? Not always the field or ground upon which they were fought, but other circumstances or reasons have determined many of them. Arbela, has given the name "Battle of Arbela," to a battle fought (301 B. C.) between Alexander the Great and Darius, though in fact, "the scene of the conflict was 'Gaugamela,' and it was only in the subsequent pursuit, that the conqueror arrived at Arbela, where Darius had left his baggage and treasure,—40 to 50 miles distant." "Varu's defeat by the Germans, A. D. 9, in a battle near Kreutzberg, rolled back the tide of Roman conquest, and the battle was called 'Herman-Schlacht,' that is Herman's fight." The "battle of Blenheim, did not actually take place here, but at a village in the vicinity called Hochstadt." This important battle was fought August 13th, 1704, when "France and Bavaria on the one hand with 56,000 men, stood opposed to Holland, England, Austria, Savoy, Portugal and the German Empire on the other with 52,000 men commanded by Marlborough and Prince Eugene." The "battle of Poltova" was fought in 1709, "Poltova being famous as the scene of the defeat of Charles 12th, by Peter

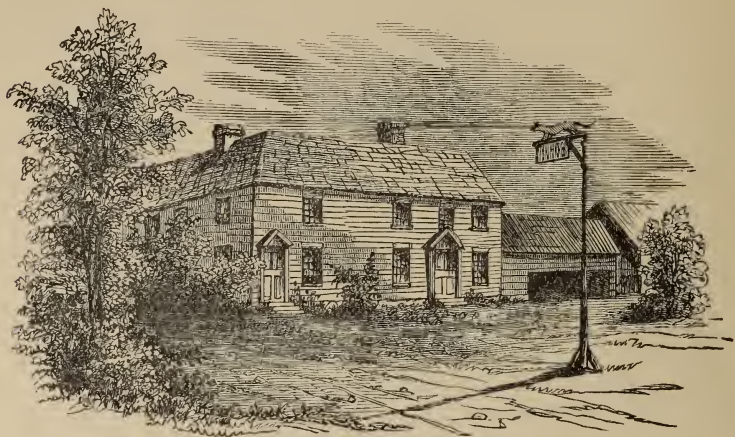
the Great, and a monument commemorating the victory of the Czar stands in the principal square; while three miles from the town, a mound surmounted by a cross still known as the 'Sweedish tomb' marks the battle field." The battle fought at Freehold, New Jersey, County of Mommouth, June 28th, 1778, was styled, "The battle of Mommouth," and the name has since been acquiesced in, though it took the name of the county in which it was fought, rather than the town, or eminence or morass that figure so prominently in the history of the battle. The battle of Waterloo and the Bunker Hill monument have been sufficiently commented upon by others, showing that the battle ground of Waterloo is not located by the name, neither does the location of the monument on Breed's hill determine the name of the battle fought on Breed's hill. It would be equally pertinent and historically correct, to say, the battle of Bunker Hill fought on Breed's Hill, Charlestown, or the battle of Bennington fought on the heights of the Walloomsac in Hoosick. Thus by these instances which are only a few of those which might be cited, it is shown that many things enter into the giving of a name to a battle, or the location of a monument.

Mr. Locke further says, in order to show that "Walloomsac" should be the name, "The people of Bennington, a third of a century thereafter reapproved the earlier naming," and quotes the invitation to Gen Stark to be present at a celebration, remarking, "this invitation emphasizes two facts, first—That celebrations were held annually and on the battle field," "second—This invitation emphasizes also the fact that annual celebrations were not then state or town institutions." History which is reliable, says the *first* anniversary of the battle was held in Bennington August 16th, 1778, with an oration by Noah Smith, Esq., of Bennington, in which he spoke of the fight as "the battle of Bennington," and yearly the eventful day was celebrated here until in 1802 there was a gathering on the battle ground and a sham-fight was had by the soldiery. Afterwards until 1810 it was celebrated in Bennington. This celebration was a republican gathering, as will be seen by the call as published in the newspaper of the time, which reads,

“The committee solicit a general attendance of their ‘republican fellow citizens’ on the 16th of August next, at 10 o’clock A. M., at the former headquarters of Gen. Stark, near the dwelling house of Mr. David Henry, in a field near the boundary line of Bennington and Hoosick, after which an oration will be pronounced and a repast provided for the citizens assembled.” The committee, Jonathan Robinson, Eleaser Hawks and David Fay, who sent the invitation to Gen. Stark, were all Bennington men, and the “toasts” given at the “repast provided,” give something of an idea of the feeling of satisfaction in the name which had been given the conflict, as entertained by the then living veterans, and those who came out on “that auspicious day.” Gen. David Robinson of Bennington, who was in the battle and was now equipped with the broad-sword taken from Col. Baum on the bloody field, was the marshal of the day, Rev. Daniel Marsh of Bennington offered the prayer, and among the toasts were, “Gen. John Stark,—The Leonadas of America,” another, “The surviving heroes of Bennington Battle, though their locks are ‘whitened with many winters, yet their hearts are still warm in their country’s cause,” and the heading of another, “The heroes of liberty who fell in Bennington Battle.”

In 1812 the anniversary of the Battle of Bennington was celebrated in Arlington by the “Washington Benevolent Society” with others from the county. In 1828 a celebration was held near Judge Draper’s in Shaftsbury. In 1832, a celebration was held at North Bennington, Gen. David Robinson, President, Col. J. M. Potter and Maj. Norman Blackmer, Marshals, and Hon. Hiland Hall, Orator. In 1833, the day was celebrated in White Creek, with committees to co-operate from White Creek, Shaftsbury, Bennington and Hoosick. All *other* celebrations with one exception, that of 1834, were held in Bennington unto this day, unless it might be political or party conventions of different kinds. Thus we have three on the battle ground or near it, one in White Creek, N. Y., one each in Arlington, Pownal and Shaftsbury, and nearly one hundred in the town of Bennington, and for the first twenty or thirty years after, with a procession from the Court House near the

site of the Battle Monument, to the "Old Meeting House," which was located near the present first church, in their march passing the famous "Catamount Tavern" and the "Vermont Council of Safety room."

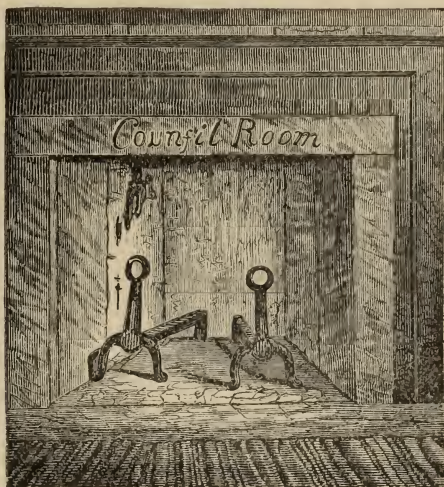


THE CATAMOUNT TAVERN.

Where were the headquarters of the "Green Mountain Boys," as they met to devise plans for the protection of their families and the possession of their once paid for homes, from the rapacity of the land jobbers and speculators of New York, known by them as "Yorkers," and in which was the room occupied for years by the Vermont Council of Safety. The sign, was a stuffed Catamount skin upon a high pole with the jaws grinning towards New York. It was built about 1769, and destroyed by fire March 30, 1871.

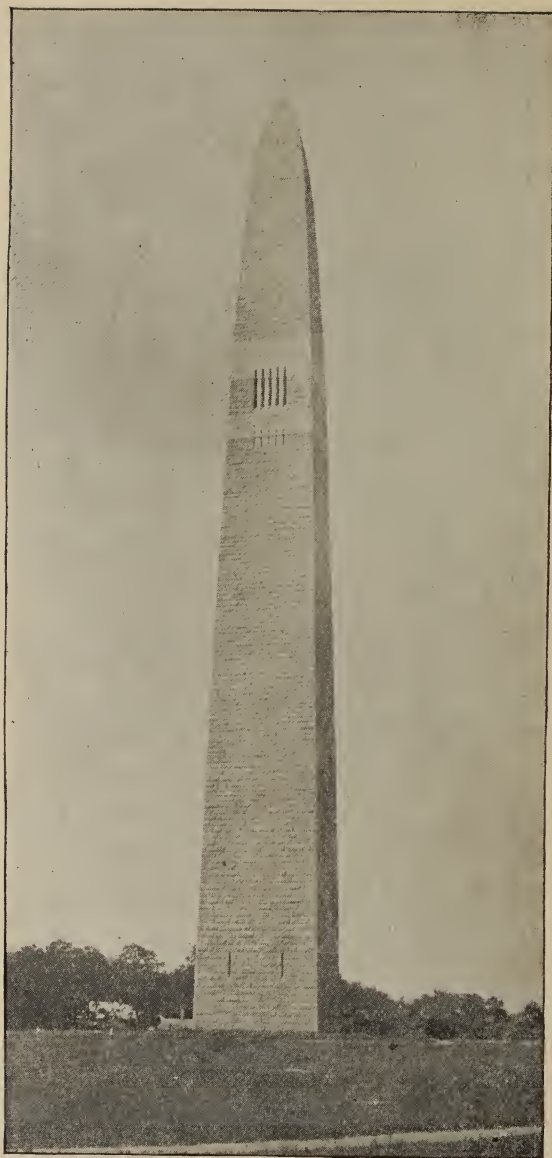
Does this look like establishing the "facts," as stated in the paper under consideration, which would not only intimate but maintain, there was in early times a community of feeling in the two states of New York and Vermont, as to the battle? Such was not the case, and there never has been a disposition on the part of New York generally, or counties adjacent to Bennington in that direction, except that which was drawn or forced out, for perpetuating the glorious event of August 16th, 1777. This is said with all due deference to our neighbors, among whom there has ever been many conspicuous examples to the contrary, and we each would have agreed to have gone along in "the even tenor of our way" with no jealousies or prejudices to parade before the world had not the attempt been made to change many established facts with reference to the battle, and the spirit of its celebrations. It has always needed

Bennington men, although the battle field was in Hoosick, to start, carry forward and complete the celebration of the battle, when it has been done solely on patriotic grounds. The people of New York who took so little interest in fighting the battle have since taken, comparatively, but little interest in commemorating the victory.



The "Fire place" of the Council room, as is shown by the engraving in the stone mantel cut one hundred and twenty years ago, where Cols. Seth Warner, Eathan Allen and their associates met for consultation, before Vermont was recognized as a state.

In connection with the location of the Bennington Battle Monument, Mr. Locke endeavors to make little of the fact of a supply of stores and provisions at Bennington, carrying the idea that the matter of provisions has been trumped up and more made of it than is warranted from the situation at the time, and that it may be doubted if there really was a large quantity at Bennington. In addition to what has been presented by B. H. Hall, Esq., and others, and the risk of repeating something that may have been offered, an extract bearing upon the matter from a letter by Gen. Arthur St. Clair to the President of the Vermont Convention at Windsor, Vt., dated "Otter Creek, July 7th, 1777," the day of the battle of Hubbardton, reads "I am now on my march to Bennington, which place



THE BENNINGTON BATTLE MONUMENT.

Located near the site of the Continental store house, at Bennington Centre, Vt., two hundred and eighty-five feet above the valley below. It was the objective point of the detachment sent by Gen. Burgoyne for provisions, cattle, carriages, etc., which resulted in the "battle of Bennington." It is thirty-seven feet square at the base, is built of blue-grey magnesian lime stone, (Dolomite), and rock faced. The height of stone work is 301 ft., 10½ inches, which is surmounted by a bronze-rodded hood and gilt star, measuring 4 ft., 6 inches, making the entire altitude 306 ft., 4½ inches. The grand look-out floor, is gained by rising 417 steps of easy ascent, the stairway being of wrought and cast iron. Designed by J. Ph. Rinn, Boston. Corner stone laid August 16th, 1887. Cap stone placed November 25th, 1889, and dedicated August 19th, 1891.

I am obliged to make, on account of Provisions, the Enemy having last night possessed themselves of Skeensborough." Also, an extract from a "circular for aid," "to the commanding officers of militia and committees of Safety in the States of Massachusetts Bay—Connecticut," dated "Bennington, July 8th, 1777." After saying news had come of an engagement, "the particulars of which we have not yet obtained," (the Battle of Hubbardton), it is said, "unless the enemy be soon stopped and repelled, the whole country will fall into their hands, which will prove the ruin of the whole country, as we have large stores deposited in this place which we shall of necessity be obliged to leave to the enemy and retreat down into the New England States, which will soon reduce the Country to "cleanness of teeth." Signed, "Moses Robinson, Col, Nath'l Brush, Lt. Col., Joseph Farnsworth, Deputy Commissary, Elijah Dewey, Captain, John Fay, Chairman." Also, Gen. St. Clair to Gen. Schuyler, dated, "Dorset, July 8th, 1777." "I am in great distress for provisions. If I can be supplied at Manchester I shall proceed directly for Fort Edward, or Saratoga, as circumstances may direct; if not, I shall be obliged to go to Bennington." Ira Allen, Secretary of the Vermont Council of Safety, in a circular to Military officers "whom it may concern," dated "Manchester, July 15th, 1777," says, after asking for all immediate assistance in their power to check the enemy in their advance, "the Continental stores in Bennington seem to be their present aim." The letter of Gen. Burgoyne to Col. Baum, dated "near Saratoga, Aug. 14th, 1777, seven at night," does not appear to have received the attention it should, touching the matter of provisions. He says to Col. Baum, "you will please send off to my camp, as soon as you can, waggons, and draft cattle, and likewise, such other cattle as are not necessary for your subsistence. Let the waggons and carts bring off all the *flour and wheat* they can that you do not retain for the same purpose. This transport must be under the charge of a commission officer." If he refers, as is supposed, to the *flour and wheat* mentioned in Col. Baum's letter to him written from Sancoik at 9 o'clock, A. M., of the same day, then Mr. Locke is in error when he says that "Baum

could make no disposition of these articles," the flour and wheat, etc., "but to destroy them." We have further from Burgoyne's Orderly book, Aug. 17th, 1777, in speaking of the "expedition which marched to the left," "the flour taken from the enemy to be delivered into the hands of the commissary here," which must have referred to that captured at Sancoik. The reference to the destroying of flour and wheat looks like an effort to make it appear that Burgoyne's army was not in much need of provisions, when in fact, a supply was one of the things uppermost in his mind. In the same letter Burgoyne says, "I will write you in full to-morrow in regard to getting the horses out of the hands of the savages," which shows that provisions were of greater consequence at this critical time than even horses, which were so much needed, especially as the letter of Baum, inquiring as to getting horses from the savages had been written to him the day before. And Glick, referring to a time just before the setting out of the Baum expedition, says, "Though Burgoyne's troops had toiled without intermission during three whole weeks, there was in camp no greater stock of provisions than promised to suffice for four days consumption."

In speaking of the name of the battle, and endeavoring to have everything appear fair in the presentation of the subject, he says, "No single instance is recalled, other than this under consideration, when a battle field has taken the name of a 'hamlet of a dozen houses' nine miles away." What are the facts in regard to this hamlet, and the town which did give the name to the battle fought on the 16th of August, 1777, between Gen. Stark and Cols. Baum and Breyman? The Vermont Historical Magazine, page 136, says, "the population of Bennington in 1775, was about 1,500," so it might be expected in 1777, to be at least 1600. In 1800, twenty-three years after the battle, "the territory now included in the present village of Bennington contained but twenty buildings exclusive of barns and sheds," so that by far the greater part of the inhabitants, at the time of the battle lived in the vicinity of Bennington Centre, where was standing the Continental store house, the remainder being located principally, in the western and

north-western parts of the town, on the border of the town of Hoosick and State of New York. Thus we see the hamlet, so contemptuously spoken of as one of a "dozen houses," must have contained over one hundred houses, as that and the vicinity must have had dwellings to the number of nearly, or quite, three hundred, to be in proportion to the inhabitants. That there may be a correct understanding as to the population and dwellings, it may be said "the first census was taken in 1791, when the number of inhabitants was 2377," which up to this period, would be the natural growth of this most important town in this part of the state. Manchester, the largest town in the northern part of the county, had a population of 1276 in 1791, or at the time of the battle, about 800. This comparison of the population of the two towns, will furnish the reader with a clue to the animus of Mr. Locke, and the fairness exhibited in the effort to change history, when in speaking of the men furnished in the battle, he says, "*Probably*, Manchester furnished more troops than Bennington." He may have had his sensibilities affected by reading Glick's account of the "promised land," which he in common with Baum, was anxious to enter, in the slip which he made in speaking of Bennington, as "a hamlet of a dozen houses," when he says, "about twenty miles to the eastward of the Hudson lies the obscure village of Bennington, a cluster of poor cottages situated in a wild country between the forks of the Hoosac." But more than the furnishing of the greatest number of men, of any town in the state during the Revolution, and the officers who figured so largely in the invasion of Canada and the resisting of Burgoyne, Warner, the Allens, the Robinsons, the Saffords, the Scotts, the Fays, and Herriek and others too numerous to mention, the town was the seat of the Council of Safety, supplying a majority of the active members, whose counsel and influence were felt all through the northern department, and the wisdom and sagacity of whom, planned most of the operations of the Green Mountain boys up to the time of, and which culminated in the grand result of the battle of Bennington. Bancroft, in referring to a letter of Gov. Hutchinson to Gov. Pownall, of July 10th, 1765, says, "men of New England, of a superior sort,

had obtained of the government of New Hampshire a warrant for land down the western slope of the Green Mountains, on a branch of the Hoosick, twenty miles east of the Hudson River; formed already a community of sixty-seven families in as many houses, with an ordained minister; had elected their own municipal officers; formed three several public schools; set their meeting house among their primeval forests of beech and maple; and in a word enjoyed a flourishing state which springs from rural industry, intelligence and unaffected piety. They called their village Bennington." This was twelve years before Burgoyne and Glick attempted to enter this "coveted" hamlet, the first settlement of which had been made but five years before, and which had increased to the number of one hundred and fifty families at the time Mr. Locke speaks of it as "a hamlet of a dozen houses."

Thus far the investigation has been pursued with reference to topics with which the general reader is conversant, and which needed only to be carefully examined and have historical light thrown upon them, to give them their deserved standing in history. Mr. Locke says, "It has been thought that Warner's regiment held Breyman in check and saved Stark's army from defeat, but its numbers, only one hundred and fifty, were too small to be effective. It now appears that Col. John Williams of White Creek, a New Yorker, at the head of New York troops, saved the day. This is history: Gen. Stark with twenty-two hundred of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont and New York troops defeated Baum's six hundred; and Col. William's New York troops, with Warner's one hundred and fifty and a portion of Stark's army that he succeeded in rallying, defeated Breyman's eight hundred." It appears Mr. Locke has been a citizen of Hoosick about twenty years, coming from a distance and possessing none of the bias which largely affected the early inhabitants. It is not strange that he should wish to find something in history, showing that New York was really "heart and hand," in sympathy with those engaged in the battle of Bennington, and in fact did take part with an organized body of troops. He bases his argument upon material furnished by B. H. Hall, Esq., in the History

of Rensselaer County, N. Y., published in 1880, and endeavors to produce historical facts to establish it, although he discards many of the facts and conclusions on other points, stated in the same paper. The quotation reads thus, "It is '*probable*' that the second battle was begun and 'fought in part' by a body of New Yorkers under the command of Col. John Williams of White Creek, now Salem." It must be as great a wonder to Mr. Hall as any one else, that such a myth could grow out of his undisguised statement, and no doubt a just and practical solution of the Col. Williams episode, will be as satisfactory to him as to other readers, who desire inferences drawn from trustworthy premises, or reliable history. The position of Mr. Locke being new, and the attention of the earlier writers on the events of the battle, never having been called to it with a claim of like importance and with such assurance, it should be examined with care and an endeavor to solve with all reasonableness, the question as to the part, if any, taken by Col. Williams in the battle of Bennington. There has been, heretofore, no prejudices of Vermont or the town of Bennington, and there should be none now, to interfere with a reasonable claim made by a sister state to any deserved honor in the battle fought in the town of Hoosick. There has been a mutual understanding as to the forces employed at the time, and New York has made no claim heretofore as having taken an active part, and the order to Col. Williams has not been understood by the best informed historians, to be a military one, but one of discovery, or a passport to give him and those with him recognition in passing the lines and beyond, to a place of comparative safety in Massachusetts. This order from the Council of Safety, has always had given it, it has been supposed, the importance it merited, till the remark made by Mr. Hall in 1880 expressed in problematical language, has been taken up and the effort made to make it appear a tremendous reality. "Possibly," "probable," "doubtless," "probably," "beyond doubt," "it appears to be true," and "undoubtedly," are qualifying terms used in making up the case, by Mr. Locke, and if they are not allowed

to signify more than in their common use, his whole theory falls to the ground. The order to Col. Williams reads thus:

STATE OF VERMONT, }
In Council of Safety, August 16th, 1777. }

To Col. John Williams:—

SIR: You will proceed with your party toward the lines, and if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Cork to Hoosack, and if you make any discovery, report to this Council;—at the same time, you are to pay proper attention to the road leading from Hoosack to Pownal.

By order of Council, PAUL SPOONER, D. Secretary.

The wording of the paper is such that no one acquainted with military tactics, especially of revolutionary times, would consider it given to soldiers under arms, hurrying to the battle field. Neither would the Council have given a military order, on the day Gen. Stark was to attack the enemy, and it knew his intentions so to do, for they had been in consultation that very morning,—much less a military order which might conflict with Gen. Stark's plans, "if the enemy should retreat." Again, if it had been a military order Col. Williams would have been told to report to Gen. Stark. The Council were too well acquainted with the "stuff" Gen. Stark was made of, to tamper with him in the way of giving counter orders, or even orders which might be construed to coincide with his ideas of the military disposition of his forces. The order reads, "if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Cork to Hoosack, and if you make any 'discovery,' report to this council." Was Col. Williams at the head of a regiment, company or squad of armed men, militia or continental troops, under orders from the Council to take part in any fighting, and, "if he made any discovery" to report to this Council? The inference is too absurd to be entertained and was only grasped by Mr. Locke in his desperation, to get hold of something to make it appear, that the state of New York was prominent in the defeat of Col. Breyman. Col. Williams with his party, was not necessarily within a dozen miles of the Council room from which the order of procedure or permit emanated, as it may have been forwarded by an express or courier in answer to advice asked relative to his

approaching the lines from the north in the direction of his home, which is the most rational conclusion. That it was not a military order is shown by comparison with other customary orders given by the Council of Safety about the same time, which are couched in nearly the same language, as follows: "In Council of Safety, August 28th, 1777. To David Fassett. Sir: You will proceed to Mr. ———, and make strict examination of his improvements or lands adjoining; and if you find any stock or other effects, which you have reason to suspect belongs to any enemical person within the state, you may seize the same, and cause it to be brought to this Council, as soon as may be. By order of the Council, Ira Allen, Secretary." Another order, dated "August 29th, 1777. You are to proceed to the house of Mr. ——— of Shaftsbury, and seize all his lands and effects, of whatsoever name or nature, and bring all his writings, together with all his movable effects, to this council, excepting two cows and such other effects as are wanted for the support of said family, which you are to leave with the woman, taking a proper account of them. By order of Council, Ira Allen, Secretary." Also, "In Council of Safety, August 29th, 1777. To Mr. Benj. Fassett. Sir: You are hereby directed to proceed to Pownal, and bring from some of the Tories that are gone to the enemy, or otherwise proved themselves to be enemies to their country, a load of sance, for the use of the wounded prisoners here; and make returns to this Council of what you bring, and from whom. You will leave sufficient for their families. Per order, Thomas Chittenden, President." And, "26th of September, 1777. To Mr. Wright, and other teams in company, you are to repair from this to Paulet, there to apply to the commanding officer, or Lt. Hyde, to be loaded with plunder, belonging to Col. Brown, and return with the same, and deliver it safe, to this Council. By order of Council, Joseph Fay, Secretary." One has only to compare the "Williams order" with the above to see that it was an order or permit for him and his party, to pass the lines, not with a command "to do, to dare and to die," but as a conductor or leader. Col. Williams was something of a military

man, though not not much of a fighting one as appears from history, but a statesman of considerable experience in his state, in the Provincial Congress of which he was a member, and an eminent physician, surgeon and patriot. On July 2nd, 1777, he, with Colonels Robinson and Warner of Bennington, were addressed in a letter by Gen. St. Clair, to come with their regiments, to his aid at Ticonderoga against Gen. Burgoyne, and of the result it is said "in the war of the revolution" in the History of Rensselaer County, "Colonels Warner and Robinson reached Ticonderoga in time to take part in its evacuation. It is also 'believed' that Col. Williams reached the fort, but whether with or without a command is not positively known." That he did not reach the battle field, on the 16th of August, 1777, in command of New York troops and take part in it, appears to be as certain as other historical events connected with it.

The History of Washington County, N. Y., was published in 1878, two years before that of Rensselaer, the "Revolutionary Period" being prepared by Chrisfield Johnson, Esq., showing much study and research. He treats largely of the part taken by Charlotte County in the revolutionary struggle, and of the town of Newperth or Salem, where Col. Williams resided, but has failed to furnish any thing from the large collection of papers left by him, or any reliable data from other sources, to sustain the theory that he was engaged in the Battle of Bennington. He refers to the letter of Gen. St. Clair to Colonels Williams, Warner and Robinson, before mentioned, and also speaks of the battle of Bennington, claiming all he could for the county of Washington, in these words, in speaking of Gen. Stark as "the old Indian fighter, grim John Stark," "his men were principally from New Hampshire, though there was a considerable number from Vermont and Massachusetts, and some also from the towns of Cambridge, White Creek, Jackson and Salem, in this county." It is often far easier for the historian to make an assertion, than to present trustworthy reasons for making the declaration, as in this instance investigation discloses that very few from these towns were in the battle, and no facts have been obtained to show

that an organized body of soldiers or military company took part in the fight. On April 22d, 1778, Col. Williams wrote to Gov. Clinton, who had informed him that Charlotte County would be exempt from a draft which was ordered to fill up the Continental army, "on condition of its furnishing the designated number, seventy, for the defense of the frontier, that he had called his battalion together and could obtain only seventeen volunteers. He expected to get as many more, but could not possibly raise seventy. Enough to make three companies had moved down the river and others were preparing to go. Of those who remain, the Colonel said, about one half are disaffected to the American cause, and most of these he feared would join the enemy." If at this time, several months after the victories of Bennington and Saratoga, and with the surrender of Burgoyne, the feeling in Charlotte County where Col. Williams lived and did so much to sustain what little patriotism, comparatively, could be aroused, what must have been the coldness of the inhabitants six months previous at the time of the battle, which occurred a little more than a month after the defeat of Warner at Hubbardton? It certainly is worth while to candidly weigh the question, when an endeavor is made to so add to accepted history without proof to justify it, and a reasonable regard to surrounding circumstances taken into consideration. There must have been a poor showing for Gen. Stark at the time in this locality, and without something to bolster the *conjecture* that "Col. Williams with his New York troops" was present at the battle of Bennington, the theory should be repudiated.

In the County history, speaking of the town of White Creek, it says, "Austin Wells, a son of Edmund Wells, the latter a pioneer of Cambridge, went in 1777, to assist an older brother in Cambridge to remove his family to a place of safety, information having been received that a detachment of Burgoyne's army might be expected through the Cambridge valley. Having taken the family to Williamstown, the brothers hastened back, and reached Bennington in time to join in the closing scenes of the battle." With reference to Cambridge, it says, of Mrs. Sarah Hall, "She was first married to Thomas

Comstock, a descendant of the Puritans, who heroically fell in the battle of Bennington, August 16th, 1777," and in another place it says, "some of the settlers left their homes through fear of the enemy and their Indian allies," and mentions nine, who "are known to have served in the American cause." And of Jackson's part, "The citizens of this town shared, *no doubt*, in the great events occurring around them and in their midst during the War of the Revolution. *Doubtless* several from this town were in service, but no records are found in the town upon this point, and the memory of the older people does not recall them."

It will be necessary to further examine the order to Col. Williams, to learn its full import, in order to judge of the weight to be given it in its relation to the battle of Bennington. It purports to be an order of observation, or a permit as leader or conductor of a "party" to give attention to the roads spoken of, as he journeyed, and see if he could make discovery of anything that might effect the situation "if the enemy should retreat," but otherwise he was not expected to learn or do anything, as he proceeded on his way. Or, he may have been guide or escort to a "party" of refugees, which would likely be composed largely of women and children, fleeing from Salem, then Newperth, or White Creek, and the country contiguous, to towns in Massachusetts for safety. A meeting was held in "Newperth, 25th of July, 1777, John Rowan, Chairman," at which, men were appointed from four different parts of the town, "to apprise and value all the crops and buildings in said district," and the inhabitants were counseled "to evacuate their places of residence and move into the interior of the state." But, Lieut. Col. St. Ledger was sent just at this time, by Burgoyne, into the interior with an army, so it was unsafe to flee in that direction, and we find many from Salem and vicinity in Massachusetts, having fled on horseback, and among them Mrs. Williams, the wife of Col. Williams, in Williamstown the day after the battle. This is history by tradition as well as written, in relation to her and others who had gone at this time. A receipt of which the

following is a copy, is now on file among the papers of Col. Williams.

WILLIAMSTOWN, August ye 17, 1777.

Received of Mrs. Williams the whole of Doct Williams Amputating instruments.

I say received by me.

SAML PORTER.

Furthermore it is shown by a receipt, which was given by one Hopkins, for a horse impressed into the service, to Captain Barns, who was acting for Col. Williams, dated Newperth, August 20th, 1777, that the Colonel was still absent from home, and being a physician and skillful surgeon, was most likely in Williamstown with his wife and rest of the party he had escorted thither, attending to the wounded and suffering, and if need be using the surgical instruments he had brought with him. It would also appear that his duties were many, for it was necessary he should have the assistance of his efficient wife in the multitude of his engagements, in the delivery of the instruments mentioned in the receipt of Saml Porter. It is said of him: "He was a surgeon in the Continental line, acting as such in several of the heaviest battles of the war and especially in the battle of Monmouth," which took place June 28th, 1778. So, here in Williamstown we find Col. Williams, whom Mr. Locke makes the hero of the second action between Gen. Stark and Col. Breyman; Col. Williams who lived an active life in Salem, twenty-nine years after the battle of Bennington took place, never claiming or intimating he had anything to do in fighting it, and of whom it was never claimed he took any part, until Mr. Locke moved into Hoosick and had lived several years near the battle ground and had "gone over it critically." Then his eye falling upon this hint, before quoted, "It is 'probable' that the second battle was begun and fought in part by a body of New Yorkers under the command of Col. John Williams of White Creek, now Salem," he invents a theory and with his characteristic energy starts it on its cometic course. Nor did Col. Williams make a report of the attention he gave the roads "leading from St. Cork to Hoosick," and "from Hoosack to Pownal." Nothing of consequence was discovered, as he made his way at the head of

his party, over these roads which was the shortest route to Williamstown and towns beyond, though they ran through a section peopled with Tories, and passed the home of Col. Phister of Hoosick, who was that day in the battle in command of the Tories, at the Tory breastwork, and whose prestige influenced many of the faint hearted in his neighborhood, to withhold their allegiance to the American cause. The following letter shows the feeling of one of Bennington's noble sons, at the time of which we are considering:

BENNINGTON, August the 20th, 1777.

Honored Father :

After my duty I take this opportunity to write to you, hoping these few lines will find you well, as through the goodness of God they leave me and my family. We met with a great deal of trouble on the 16th instant. Myself and brother John was preserved through a very hot battle. We killed and took according to the best account we can get, about one thousand of the enemy. Our loss was about thirty or forty. We marched right against their breastworks with our small arms, where they fired upon us every half minute, yet they never touched a man. We drove them out of their breastworks and took their field pieces and pursued and killed great numbers of them. We took four or five of our neighbors--two Sniders and two Hornbecks. The bigger part of Dutch Hoosick was in the battle against us. They went to the Reglers a day or two before the fight. Samuel Anderson, was a Captain amongst the Reglers, and was in the battle against us. Whilst I was gone my wife and children went off and got down to Williamstown. After I got home I went after them and found them to Landlord Simons.* I have got them home again. My wife was very much tired out. She had four children with her. Belindy was forced to run on foot. We soon expect the enemy will come upon us again and what shall I do with my family I know not. * * *

JOSEPH RUDD.

It should not, perhaps, seem so very strange that so few of those in the state of New York, on the line of Vermont, took part in the defence of Bennington, as their sympathies had been for years with their own state in the "Hampshire Grant controversies," and the influential men, especially of the town of Hoosick, were casting their influence against us. There was an organization among the Tories, and none in the interest of Vermont, or the American Colonies.

We see the magnanimity and generosity of Mr. Locke, for the town of his adoption, in the filling up of the ranks of

*Col. Simonds.

Gen. Stark, by multiplying those who "probably" joined his command, as the number is far greater than is warranted by the facts of history or tradition ; and by his zeal for the glory of his town and state, in cherishing every thing that has a semblance of show, as a thing of reality. In his account of the battle, he says, "the accounts agree that the Baum action closed at five o'clock in the afternoon," "that soon after intelligence was received that there was a large reinforcement within two miles on the march ; and that Warner's regiment came up at the time. So much is beyond question, but of the Breyman engagement most of the best writers have been unsatisfactorily brief, or entirely in error. At this point some of the later writers, copying from Breyman's, Glick's and Reidsell's accounts, are enabled to throw some light on the second engagement, and these accounts supplimented by some facts *published it is believed for the first time in the History of Rensselaer County*, dispel almost entirely the obscurity that has been over the Breyman defeat." This reference to "Breyman's, Glick's and Reidsell's accounts, is thrown in it would seem, as a blind or ruse, as is sometimes done by writers to uphold a weak proposition, for in the account of neither is there any thing relating to the battle but what has heretofore been presented and properly dwelt upon in history, and the "light" of which, if permitted to cast its radiance "on this second engagement," shows conclusively that Col. Williams was not with New York troops in the second battle, and that the material for sustaining such a "theory" will have to come from other sources. To support and strengthen his cherished theory, he quotes "Stone," saying, "Breyman reached the bridge at three o'clock in the afternoon." He comments on it, saying "this time three o'clock, is to be noted, as Stark in his official report to the New Hampshire Council says Col. Nichols "commenced the attack precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon" on Baum. Breyman arrived at the bridge (over the White Creek stream), at Sancoik precisely at the opening of the attack on Baum." It would seem that the time, three or five o'clock, for the commencement of the second battle, is used in making up the case, just as either one is thought best suited

for the argument or point to be gained. Upon this corner stone, that "Breyman arrived at Sancoik at three o'clock, P. M., he goes on to build his theory, while all that is reliable in history makes the time later. He adopts this time for his own convenience instead of "half past four in the afternoon," the time stated by Col. Breyman himself, in his account of the part he took in the battle, and whose accuracy is established, by another reference to time in the same report, when he says in speaking of his halt near Cambridge, "toward two o'clock in the afternoon Col. Skeene sent two men to me with the request that I would detach one officer and twenty men to occupy the mill of St. Coyk, as the rebels showed signs of advancing on it." These men were to be sent forward in advance of Breyman's main body, and he did send, as he says, "sixty grenadiers and Chasseurs and twenty Yagers. I followed as quickly as possible with the rest. Some of the ammunition carts again broke down on the road. I reached the mill at half past four." Nothing can well be more certain than that this is the correct time of Breyman's arrival at Sancoik, which is further corroborated by Gen. Burgoyne's orderly book of date August 26th, when there had been opportunity to fix the time most accurately, when he says, "The next cause (of failure) was the slow movement of Lieut. Col. Breyman's Corps, which from bad weather, bad roads, tired horses and other impediments stated by Lieut. Col. Breyman, could not reach 24 miles from eight in the morning of the 15th to four in the afternoon of the 16th. But the theory has been adopted, and now circumstances and events must be made to fit together or bend, so as to clothe the skeleton and make it a thing to be admired as a model of symmetry, beauty and truth. The position taken is, "scarcely had Breyman advanced fifteen hundred paces from the bridge when he descried a strongly armed force on an eminence towards the west," and "sent ahead some scouts." As he was marching almost directly east, he could not have "descried a strongly armed force on an eminence *towards the west*," and sent ahead, which would have been toward the east, some scouts, who were received with a volley of musketry," but the account of Breyman, who knew of what he affirmed,

is the correct one, viz, "that he had not gone far from the bridge, "when I noticed through the woods a considerable number of armed men (some of whom wore blouses and some jackets), hastening towards an eminence on my left flank." In both letters of Gen. Stark to the New Hampshire Council and Gen. Gates, one of August 18th, and the other August 22d, 1777, he says, "I received intelligence that there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us, on their march which occasioned us to renew our attack." Mr. Locke asks, relying on three o'clock as being the time, "What 'strongly armed force' was this that at this time, was on 'an eminence' west of Breyman and of the only road leading to Baum's camp?" It is easily answered and without any perversion of history, but in accordance with what actually occurred. There was no force "on an eminence 'west' of Breyman," when he came upon the field, but "a considerable number" of Stark's men in shirt sleeves and frocks, were "hastening towards an eminence on Breyman's left flank," sufficient opportunity having been given after the intelligence of his approach was received, for the hurrying together of those who had pursued the flying Hessians, meaning to capture or kill them all. They had gone, as the old soldiers in their manuscript accounts have stated, far beyond the general battle field, and were in a situation to collect together on Breyman's approach. As they could not expect to withstand his army in front, they fired down upon him volleys from the hill whither many had collected, doing good execution in their "blouses and jackets," "and poured a deadly fire into his ranks." Others on Breyman's approach had collected in the old log house near which were posted his cannon, and made as best they could a stand against the best soldiers Burgoyne could send to reinforce Baum, but all in vain. Breyman further says, "The cannon were posted on a road where there was a log house. This we fired upon, as it was occupied by the rebels." With regard to this, from a manuscript statement of Benjamin G. Arnold of Pownal, now eighty-two years old, we copy, "I have often heard my grandfather, Ebenezer Arnold, who said he lived at the time of the battle of Bennington west of the Baum en-

campment, on the north side of the road leading to St. Coik or North Hoosick, in a log house. He often told of a cannon ball going through the roof, and that the firing took off the roof. He said Stark's men were in the house when Breyman came up, and went out and fired on his troops and that they fired down into the British as they came along." We learn from Thompson's Vermont, "They opened an incessant fire from their artillery and small arms, which was for a while, returned by the Americans with much spirit, but, exhausted and overpowered by numbers, we at length began slowly, but in good order, to retreat before the enemy, disputing the ground inch by inch." Breyman continued advancing up the road with cannon in front clearing the way, supported by wings of infantry on either side. At this critical time, as Gen. Stark says, "Col. Warner's regiment came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack afresh, which put a stop to their career. We soon rallied, and in a few minutes the action was very warm and desperate, which lasted until night. We used their cannon against them, which proved of great service to us. At sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time, we pursued them till dark, when I was obliged to halt for fear of killing our men." This language of Gen. Stark, when he speaks of obliging them to retreat at sunset, the second time, and then pursuing them till dark does not tally well with the theory that Breyman went little or "no farther than San Coik." The ground from the hill beyond the present Walloomsac station and east for at least a half mile was fought over and over again, and the ending of the fight was some distance east of North Hoosick according to Breyman's report, which agrees with that of Gen. Stark, when he says, "I retreated on the approach of darkness, destroyed the bridge, had as many of the wounded as possible brought thither that they might not be captured, and after a lapse of half an hour, in company with Col. Skeene, pursued my march and reached Cambridge towards twelve o'clock at night." It must be that every soldier of the "party" under Col. Williams, that fought so bravely, was killed, or it would have been noted in Salem, and the roll of honor of those who died on "that eminence towards

the West" would have been recorded or been handed down by tradition, but there is not an iota of evidence to substantiate such a fiction. And further, Col. Williams, if anything of the kind did take place, not only failed to report it to the council, but so far forgot the valor of his noble men, as ever to mention the matter in a public or private way, or even claim that he himself was in the battle. He was a man of excellent ability, "his legislative career lasted nearly twenty years," and he filled, with high credit, offices of judicial trust. He lived nearly thirty years after the battle not twenty miles from the battle field, dying in 1806, and yet there is nothing among his papers or anything authentically known, that he was aware of the important part ascribed to him and his "party," in the theory presented by Mr. Locke. Had Col. Williams with an armed company, been in the battle, and done the execution here claimed for them, they would no more have escaped the notice of Gen. Stark or those who early wrote of the engagement, than did the reinforcement of Col. Warner's troops, without which the day would have been lost, or even that of Blucher at the battle of Waterloo, and the service would have received all the praise and glory which a grateful people could bestow. Is it reasonable to expect that any number or manipulation of conjectures, can make a mere theory a real transaction, or, should they give an imaginary company of New York troops, immortal glory?

The endeavor has been to make this review, with all due consideration to the feelings of those most nearly interested, and for the sake of history and its vindication, and it is now submitted to the public, with a desire that it may receive, only, that regard which its merit demands.

In conclusion, it may be said, the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont, have heretofore amicably understood their relative positions and importance, in the glorious defeat of the enemy on the 16th of August, 1777, and in accordance with such understanding have co-operated at all times, but more especially of late have their longings and aspirations been realized in the construction of the grand and

imposing battle monument, standing upon the territory coveted by Burgoyne, towards which each state munificently contributed, and the erection of which was so nobly and generously endorsed by this great nation, in the gifts of over fifty thousand dollars towards its completion.

